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China Report

RED FLAG

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5 October 1983

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 16, 16 August 1983

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 2-6

[Article by Chen Yeping]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has not only smoothly solved the question of succession of the old by the new at the highest leading level but has also initially brought about the succession in the central authorities and the various ministries and commissions of the state as well as in the leading organs at the provincial and prefectural (city) levels. This cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter has opened up a correct way to keep the revolutionary spirit of China's cadre contingent young. After studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we have a clearer picture of the fact that it is the great talent and bold vision and the political foresight of Comrade Deng Xiaoping as a proletarian revolutionary that have played an extremely important policymaking and guiding role in formulating the principles and policies of properly solving the question of succession of the old by the new and have enriched and developed the concepts and practice of Marxism as regards the building up of the cadre contingent.

A Strategic Decision Vital to the Fate of the Party and the State

The key issue of succession of the old by the new is satisfactorily to select successors to the leading bodies at various levels from the angle of giving consideration to the fate of the party and the state. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "After a political line has been formulated, it must be carried out by specific men. The result of the implementation of the political line is determined by the specific persons who carry it out. That is to say, whether the political line is carried out by those who stand for the party's political line, by those who are against it, or by those who take a middle-of-the-road attitude toward it will produce different results. Hence arises a question of successors." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 176; hereafter only page numbers given in quoting from

"Selected Works") Only when we conscientiously and constantly promote the replacement of veteran cadres by new ones can we organizationally maintain the continuity and stability of the correct leadership of the party and the government. This is a strategic question of accomplishing the great cause of our socialist modernization program and of steadily pushing our communist movement forward.

To realize the communist social system is a great and arduous creative project which requires many generations of sustained, continuous, and arduous struggle. It is an irresistible natural law that all men must go through the process of being young and vigorous to being old and feeble. However, in the long process of struggle for accomplishing its historical mission, a Marxist party can consciously use the objective laws governing the supersession of the old by the new in making a success of succession of the old by the new through good selection of successors to preserve its own youthfulness. Therefore, a leader's strategic foresight and sagacity also can find expression precisely in the question of correctly solving the replacement of veteran cadres by new ones by consciously observing objective laws.

Our actual party and state history shows that solving the question of replacement of veteran cadres by new ones is no easy feat. In the USSR, Stalin failed to solve this question satisfactorily. In China Comrade Mao Zedong advanced the task of "training and bringing up thousands upon thousands of successors for the cause of proletarian revolution," but we also failed to complete this task satisfactorily because our guiding ideology was wrong and the principles and policies for this question were also wrong. After the smashing of the "gang of four" this complicated and arduous task which we failed to complete while in power for many years historically fell to the veteran revolutionaries who are still living and in good health up to now. Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth and promoted the completion of the task, calling on the whole party to do a good job of the succession of veteran cadres by new ones. This means that the revolutionaries of the older generation who regard public affairs as their own duty have not failed to shoulder the important task entrusted to them by history. This is the great good fortune of the state and of the people.

At the critical moment when China has entered a new period, correctly solving the question of succession of veteran cadres by new ones is of particularly great significance. Before and after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, large groups of veteran comrades were reinstated in leading posts one after another through the redressing of unjust, fabricated, and wrongful cases. It was entirely necessary to do so. However, with the development of the socialist modernization program, various problems have become more and more pronounced, including the staff size of leading bodies at various levels being unduly big, their average age being a bit too advanced and their educational level unduly low, and the number of experts being excessively small. At that time, quite a few comrades in our party only thought of how to work energetically on their part and failed to realize the gravity of this problem and to understand the urgency of choosing successors and of doing a good job of succession of

veteran cadres by new ones. They had a mentality of "don't be in a rush." It was precisely in such a situation that Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly reminded the whole party that "we must resolutely rectify the outlook of not judging problems from the long-term point of view" (p 286) and sharply pointed out: "If the replacement of cadres across the country is not solved in the next 3 to 5 years, there will be chaos in our work" (p 339); "not only will there be no hope for the modernization program, but the survival of the party and the state will be in question, and the party and state may perish" (p 352), and "we must be concerned about our country, our people, and our party!" (p 195) Comrade Deng Xiaoping's repeated admonition full of sincere words and earnest wishes has sobered some of our comrades who are not clearheaded and enabled the whole party to gain a unified understanding of the question of choosing successors well and of making a success of the succession of veteran cadres by new ones. The successful convening and satisfactory closing of the 12th CPC National Congress, which has organizationally brought about cooperation between veteran and new cadres and the succession of the former by the latter, presents this unified understanding of the whole party.

We Must Adhere to Both Cooperation Between Veteran and New Cadres and Replacement of the Former by the Latter

The principle put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping concerning the realization of cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter is the only correct principle for smoothly effecting the succession of veteran cadres by new ones.

To solve the question of succession of veteran cadres by new ones, we can do nothing but realize both cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter. In our revolutionary ranks, succession of the old by the new is not a transfer of power between different individuals or between different antagonistic groups and is fundamentally different from the struggle for power between different groups in capitalist countries; instead it is a cooperative struggle for the realization of a common cause, a struggle which serves as a link between past and future. Between veteran and new cadres, cooperation constitutes the foundation and prerequisite of replacement, while replacement is the outcome of cooperation and also for the purpose of realizing a new cooperation. One may probably say that the combination of cooperation and replacement is the correct way and important guarantee for realizing the succession of veteran cadres by new ones. If one-sided emphasis is put on cooperation to the neglect of replacement, the cadre contingent will go on aging and lose its vitality, but if exclusive stress is given to replacement in the absence of cooperation, the role of veteran cadres will hardly continue to function and the growth of new cadres also will be impeded. Provided that replacement and cooperation are simultaneously carried out, replacement is realized in the course of cooperation, and further cooperation is effected in the course of replacement, the succession to veteran cadres by new ones can be carried out steadily and smoothly.

To bring about such cooperation and replacement, there must be old, middle-aged, and young cadres in a leading body. In this structural reform, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed: "It will not do for elderly cadres to wash their hands of everything at once. The elderly must integrate with the middle-aged and young." (p 366) This integration of the old, middle-aged, and young cadres, realized under the guidance of the party's correct political and organizational lines, entirely tallies with the actual conditions of China's cadre contingent and the needs of carrying the party's cause forward. Due to historical reasons, the age and intellectual and professional composition of leading bodies at various levels prior to the structural reform was unsatisfactory and irrational. Faced with this reality, what choices can we make? The first choice is to preserve the irrational structure and to let the leading bodies at various levels continue to grow old in average age. Obviously, this is not desirable. The situation in which the ranks of cadres have lagged far behind the requirements of the socialist modernization program "cannot be allowed to continue nor can it be tolerated by the people or our party." (p 351) The second choice is to let aged comrades stay at their posts indiscriminately or to pay exclusive attention to those who are to take up posts. Similarly, this will not work. Obstinate efforts to do so will lead to building up more temples with more Buddhist idols and worsen the already extremely grave situation which is characterized by overstaffing, duplication of work, bureaucratism, and lack of work efficiency. The third choice is to replace all elderly cadres with new comrades. This will surely bring greater difficulties to our cause. So naturally this choice will not work at all. The only correct choice is integration of the old, middle-aged, and young cadres. In realizing this integration although the requirements of age, knowledge, and professionalism of all types of leading bodies at various levels are not all the same, the principles of such integration must be upheld, no matter for what type or what level of leading bodies and no matter whether at present or in the future.

To make a success of cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter, some leading officials are to take up posts and some are to be relieved. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "So far as the question of those who are to take up posts and of those who are to be cut is concerned, priority must be given to the question of the former." (p 355) This is entirely correct. Without the determination to select and promote new cadres with political integrity and abilities who are in the prime of their lives, cooperation and replacement will become empty talk. Great successes have been achieved in our structural reform over the last 2 years. The second echelon of the party's cadre contingent has been basically established and the number of leading cadres in the third echelon has considerably increased. However, we must soberly notice that the gap between the top and second echelons of our party's cadre contingent is too narrow. In other words, the second echelon is only a bit younger than the top one. This is an important problem not to be ignored. Timely efforts should be made to build up the third echelon while the revolutionaries of the old generation are still active and in good health. Just as Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun have recently emphatically pointed out: From now on the whole party must do its best to establish the third echelon leadership.

At ministerial and provincial levels its leading members should be around 50 years old, and particular efforts should be made to choose outstanding officials who are about 40 years old for leading posts at these levels. This is a very important move in doing a good job of the replacement of the old by the new and in preventing the passive situation in selecting cadres. One correct move and the whole game is enlivened. From now on we must be determined to grasp well the building of the third echelon and institute and perfect a reserve cadre system.

To solve the question of those who are to take up posts in a satisfactory way, "it is imperative, first of all, for veteran cadres to take the lead, and they must be enlightened and must proceed in real earnest from the interests of the whole." (p 340) Tempered for a long time and being politically strong, veteran comrades have rich experience in appreciating and making proper use of personnel. It is precisely because of this that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed that, in selecting successors, particular attention should be paid to bringing into play the role of veteran cadres, and has clearly pointed out that selecting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres and doing a good job in passing on experience, giving help, and setting an example in training new cadres are the "most important, primary task of our veteran cadres" (p 230) and "also their most glorious and sacred task. This work represents our last historical contribution to the party as well as a serious test of our party spirit." (p 351) Meanwhile, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also pointed out: Generally speaking, young comrades have gone through fewer trials of struggle and have therefore a bit less experience in leadership work. They must respect and learn from veteran cadres. Facts have proved that the ranks of party cadres can stand all tests. In the course of structural reform as a whole, our old, middle-aged, and young cadres, no matter whether those who are to be cut or who are to take up posts or those who are to accept a higher or lower post or who are to remain at their previous leading posts for further smooth transition of power, can take the interests of the whole into account and closely cooperate with one another. Taking the cause of the party and the people above everything else, quite a few veteran comrades have left the frontline of their own accord on the one hand and persevered in "helping" young cadres "to mount the horse," and in "accompanying them part of the way" on the other. Never failing to live up to the expectations of our elderly comrades and the great trust the masses place in them, new comrades not only are bold in shouldering heavy tasks but also respect veteran comrades and leading collectives. Through such cooperation, our veteran comrades can gradually be relieved from carrying on heavy day-to-day activities so that they can concentrate energy and effort on studying major questions concerning principles and policies and do a good job in passing on experience, giving help, and setting an example in training new hands, and so that our new comrades also can develop their abilities and grow constantly and rapidly at their new posts.

We Must Rely on the Collective in Making a Success of Succession

Cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter is the requirement of the whole continuity and development of the

cadres ranks. Therefore it can be nothing but a collective action and can be realized in the course of collective cooperation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "We emphasize collective leadership and at this time when we discuss succession we also mean collective succession. We are right in doing so, and this is an important point." (p 246) In such cooperation and replacement we must rely on the collective to select successors and to form a reliable collective of successors in accordance with the principles of the party's democratic centralism.

In selecting middle-aged and young cadres, we aim to select and promote not just a few dozen or a few hundred, but thousands and tens of thousands. One may probably say that this represents a key to the successful carrying out of the present structural reform. Selecting and promoting just a tiny number of cadres will not only be unable to satisfy the needs of our cause but will also probably cause grave political errors. Being complicated, China's present replacement of veteran cadres by new ones covers a lot of work. Therefore we must select and promote large groups of outstanding successors as to form a tremendous newborn force. Only in this way can we lay a solid foundation of cadres for the top-to-bottom overall realization of cooperation between veteran and new cadres and the replacement of the former by the latter, and can we ensure that we will have a greater choice and find truly reliable successors when large groups of veteran cadres retreat from the frontline. Are there suitable persons? Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Certainly, there are." (p 178) "I think it is not difficult to find a hundred to hundreds of thousands of people." (p 341) "What counts is to emancipate our minds and throw convention to the winds." (p 178) So long as we adhere to the party's point of view of making proper use of personnel in the new period and sincerely choose persons of virtue and abilities and assign them jobs, we will surely have the possibility of selecting and promoting large groups of successors to leading posts level after level.

By selecting revolutionary successors, naturally we do not mean that individual leaders choose their own "agents" and also we do not mean that some individuals or a small number of people can decide the matter of successors. In view of bitter historical lessons, Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively pointed out: "The fact that a leader chose for himself his own successor was the continuation of the use of a feudal practice." (pp 305-306) In fact, the practice of individual leaders or a small number of people appointing their own successors not only runs counter to the basic Marxist tenets on the interrelations of the masses, classes, political parties, and leaders and to the principles of the party's democratic centralism but will, more often than not, cause errors and chaos. The cognitive ability of a person is, after all, limited, and even a great proletarian leader also will find it difficult to avoid making errors if he does not rely on collective wisdom and strength. Only when democracy is developed to the full and the collective role is brought into proper play can successors be satisfactorily selected. This is particularly true at a time when the damage done by the "Great Cultural Revolution" to the cadre contingent has not yet been completely wiped out and the influence of "leftist" ideology and of all kinds of outmoded and backward concepts exists everywhere. In such a

situation, it is of particular and great significance to stress reliance on the collective and to prevent individuals or a small number of people from making arbitrary decisions on the question of selecting successors. All leaders must fully realize their own responsibilities in fulfilling this strategic task. On the one hand, out of public considerations, they must energetically look for, train, and recommend qualified successors for the party and state of their own accord and, on the other, they must carry out democratic centralism in an exemplary way and respect and submit to collective will. By no means must they replace the standards for choosing cadres with personal taste and feelings, still less indulge in factionalism, set up barriers, and create contradictions in the leader collectives.

To persevere in collective selection of successors, it is imperative sincerely and wholeheartedly to take the mass line in our work and to bring into full play the role of the broad masses of people--this most great collective. Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed that the leadership at various levels "should go into the midst of the common people to choose qualified persons." (pp 285-286) This represents total negation of the past method of selecting cadres in a behind-the-scenes way and in the manner of handling the handicraft industry. In this spirit, in readjusting leading bodies in the preceding period, attention was paid to the repeated heeding of the masses' opinions on a broader scale and to the integration of recommendation by the masses, assessment by the organizations concerned, and collective discussion, examination, and approval by party committees in choosing qualified personnel. Thus more qualified personnel have been selected in a satisfactory and accurate way. This method represents a relatively comprehensive embodiment of the principles of selecting and promoting successors in a collective way and a new creation and breakthrough in taking the mass line in cadre work.

We Must Create Forms of Cooperation and Replacement Commensurate With China's National Condition

To realize smoothly the succession of old cadres by new ones, we must not only have correct guidelines and principles but must also proceed from actual conditions to create guidelines and principles but most also proceed from actual conditions to create forms commensurate with China's national condition and the realities of the cadre contingent.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out on many occasions: We must "bring into play the superiority of socialism in terms of organization." (p 283) This means reforming the parts of the cadre system which are no longer suited to the requirements of the situation and setting up a new system conducive to selecting young cadres. Reform principles must be adhered to but reform methods must be meticulous and well-conceived and reform steps safe and reliable. Efforts should be made to ensure that all comrades who really can still work for the party can continue to work. In accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's guiding ideology that reform must be conducted in a steady and sure manner, over the last 2 years, in accelerating the cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter, we have found some effective forms. The main

forms are as follows: 1) Leading bodies at various levels must promote large groups of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres but elderly comrades must not wash their hands of everything at once. "There should be certain proportions among cadres of different ages" (p 343), so that a rational ladder-shaped structure can take shape and the cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter can be carried out in a sustained, constant, and normal way. 2) "We must implement the retirement system of cadres in an orderly and steady manner and eradicate the personnel system of guaranteeing officials lifelong posts which exists in reality. Proper arrangements should be made for cadres who withdraw to the second line or completely retire in political and material treatment and other fields." (p 319) "Appropriate and specific regulations should be laid down according to the circumstances governing the length of office of leading cadres of all categories and at all levels (including those elected, those assigned, and those recruited), together with their retirement." (p 291) Attention should be paid, through various forms, to giving full play to their role so that they can more easily help and guide young cadres, and pass on experience to them in a form different from the past practice of becoming so-called "heads." 3) We must set up an advisory committee of a transitional nature. This method ensures that our long-tested veteran comrades, who enjoy high prestige and command universal respect among the masses, can make full use of their experience and give play to their role as instructors, supervisors, and advisers. 4) We must "smash the outdated idea of promoting by grades and formulate new ideas that suit the new situation and task," (p 284) so that the truly outstanding successors can be promoted by skipping the regular grades. 5) We must transform the phenomenon of holding too many concurrent posts and over-concentration of power and "make available more posts for the middle-aged and young comrades" (p 284), and so on and so forth. Practice has proved that these methods are a good solution to the problem of the replacement of China's old cadres by new ones. The party's practice in this respect has not only provided the organizational and institutional guarantee for the rational system concerning the continuous development of the initial formation of the cadre contingent and for the realization of the normal replacement among old, middle-aged, and young cadres of all categories, but has also pointed out for the whole party the correct orientation of the way to explore the Chinese-style forms of cooperation between veteran and new cadres and the replacement of the former by the latter.

We Must Push the "Four Transformations" of Leading Bodies Forward in the Course of Realizing Cooperation and Replacement

In talking about solving the problem of succession of old cadres by new ones, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has always stressed that we should uphold the principle of ensuring that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, and more knowledgeable and specialized. This is our firm principle. To implement this principle, we must have the idea of conducting reforms so that a marked improvement can be brought about in the age and intellectual and professional composition of leading bodies.

The cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter that our party is carrying out is aimed at eliminating the "leftist" influence in our cadre work, at training qualified personnel who will become better and better from generation to generation, and at forming a leadership core, with rational organizational structure, which is capable of shouldering the heavy tasks in leading our modernization program, and definitely not at merely replacing some persons and passively maintaining the continuation of the ranks of cadres. Giving impetus to this thoroughgoing change in the ranks of cadres through structural reform is the distinctive characteristic of China's present cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter. To ensure that members of leading bodies become more revolutionary, younger in average age, and more knowledgeable and specialized is a whole construction project. Casting away any one of the four transformations of cadres will cause the cooperation between veteran and new cadres and replacement of the former by the latter to depart from the correct course. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must do a good job in selection of qualified persons and select and appoint people with virtue and ability." "Virtue means political integrity and ability simply means to possess specialized knowledge, practical experience, and good health." (p 355) This means that in solving the problem of succession of old cadres by new ones, we must comprehensively implement the policy of the four transformations of cadres, strictly ensure political soundness and the requirements on cadres' age and education, and persist in selecting qualified personnel with leadership ability from among comrades with sound political quality, and resolutely prevent the "five types of people," as pointed out by the CPC Central Committee, from sneaking into our leading bodies. Those who have committed other grave mistakes or have bad moral character should not be promoted to leading posts, even though they do not belong to the category of "five types of people." People of limited political integrity and ability who lack devotion and a sense of responsibility to the revolution and who attempt nothing and accomplish nothing and those who try never to offend anybody by sacrificing principles also should not be promoted to leading posts.

In order to suit the needs of the new situation in leading the modernization program we must now stress selecting qualified personnel from among intellectuals, including those who have become useful persons through self-study programs in accordance with the principle of selecting the best candidates. For this purpose we must uproot the "leftist" influence of denigrating knowledge and the intellectuals and the outworn concept that promotion should be conducted according to seniority, otherwise no revolutionary breakthrough can be effected in the replacement of veteran cadres by new ones. In readjusting leading bodies, party committees and organizational departments at all levels must "resolutely emancipate their minds, remove all sorts of obstacles, break with old conventions, have the courage to reform the inappropriate organizational and personnel systems, energetically train, discover, and utilize outstanding qualified people, and resolutely fight against all practices that suppress and ruin talented people." (p 286) As demanded by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, we must carry forward the fine traditions in work among cadres and must not protect the rules and regulations

which we were quite familiar with in the past but which have now become outdated and even "leftist" things as being "fine traditions" indiscriminately. In conducting any reform, we must weigh the pros and cons as well as the gains and losses. However, in considering problems, we must, above everything else, proceed from the interests of the whole rather than putting personal interests and local and partial interests in the first place, still less approaching reform from the angle of personal interests and local and partial interests. Any useful reform will probably encounter some problems but on no account must we negate the reform itself by paying too much attention to minor issues. Only thus can we be sober and firm in action and do something worthwhile in reforming the organizational and cadre systems.

Our contingent of cadres is longstanding and well-established. In the last few years, with the correct policy decisions of the CPC Central Committee, we have blazed a new trail and obtained valuable experience in bringing about the succession of old cadres by new ones. It can be predicted that so long as we advance unswervingly along the correct orientation of cooperation and succession, our leading bodies and cadre contingent can certainly lead the masses of people in an entirely new look in making great achievements in the socialist modernization program.

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THE INTERESTS OF THE STATE, ENTERPRISES, AND INDIVIDUALS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 7-12

[Article by Yun Xiliang [1926 1585 5328]]

[Text] Economic relationships mainly refer to the relationships of economic interests. State economic system reform must be able to create larger economic interests for the laboring people of the country. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "In the final analysis, under the socialist system, individual interests are in unanimity with collective interests, local interests are in unanimity with overall interests, and immediate interests are in unanimity with long-term interests. We must regulate the relationships between various interests according to the principle of overall planning with due consideration for all concerned." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 162) Whether we can handle well the relationships between various economic interests so as to give due consideration to the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the individual is an important criterion for judging whether economic reform can develop healthily.

I

Apparently, the income in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people is divided into three parts: state income, which is used for the needs of society; enterprises' income, which is allocated by enterprises; and individual income, which is consumed by individuals. (The income of localities and departments is omitted.) It seems that the interests of the economy under the ownership system by the whole people are the summation of three different interests, that is, the interests of the state, the enterprises, and the individual. In the economic reform which is currently underway, we are changing the past method of unifying income and the allocation of income. We have expanded the decisionmaking powers of enterprises and implemented the substitution of taxes for delivery of profits. The salary system is beginning to change. The percentage for allocating the three kinds of income is undergoing constant change. All this has made it more apparent that the interests of the economy under the ownership system by the whole people are the summation of the three kinds of interests.

However, this is only a surface phenomenon.

People's economic interests are determined by the nature of ownership of the means of production. The means of production in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people belong to laborers of the whole society. Under this ownership system, laborers of the whole society are monolithic. They are not the combination of decentralized owners but the aggregation of unified owners. Each person is only a component part of this aggregation. This has determined that they have common interests and that all the products in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people belong to, and are used by laborers of the whole society according to their common interests.

The ownership system by the whole people is inseparable. The means of production belonging to laborers of the whole society cannot be owned by departments, localities, and enterprises in a separate manner. If the economy under the ownership system by the whole people is owned by departments, localities, and enterprises in a separate manner, it will not exist. The fact that the ownership system by the whole people is inseparable has determined that state economic organs and units at various levels cannot act as owners of the means of production to seek after local interests.

The means of production are owned by laborers of the whole society, and laborers are directly combined with the means of production. With the exception that labor force is owned by individuals under the capitalist system, labor force is no longer a commodity, laborers are no longer owners of labor force, and laborers cannot sell their labor force to seek after individual interests.

In short, within the economy under the ownership system by the whole people, there is no such formula as "ownership by the whole people--state interests, ownership by enterprises--enterprises' interests, and individual ownership of labor force--individual interests." Fundamentally speaking, the economy under the ownership system by the whole people seeks after common interests for laborers of the whole society. The common interests of laborers of the whole society manifest themselves in the fact that these laborers do their best to produce as many products as they can so as to meet the needs of laborers of the whole society to the fullest extent.

The common interests of laborers of the whole society first manifest themselves in the production of the total product. Production in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people is monolithic, which not only requires each enterprise and laborer to produce as many and good products as possible, but also requires all enterprises and laborers to energetically cooperate and produce as many and good social products as possible. Under the condition that various economic forms exist simultaneously, the economy under the ownership system by the whole people must guide other economic forms in producing as many and good social products as possible. With more and better social products, we can provide maximum material conditions for satisfying the needs of laborers of the whole society.

The common interests of laborers of the whole society also manifest themselves in the course of distributing the total product produced by the state economy. How can the distribution of the above total product reflect the common interests of laborers of the whole society? Should the product be distributed absolutely according to the amount of labor, as pointed out by Lassalle? Then, the product will all be shared out and eaten up. Should it be distributed according to the principle of egalitarianism? Then, our socialism will be backward agricultural socialism. As pointed out by Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," as an economic necessity, the following must be deducted from the total product: cover for replacement of the means of production used; an additional portion for expansion of production; reserve funds; the general costs of administration; and that which is intended for the common satisfaction of needs. The remaining portion will be distributed among individuals for consumption according to the principle of to each according to his work. In expounding the above, Marx proceeded from the common interests of laborers of the whole society and divided the total product into several parts according to their use, thus satisfying the long-term and immediate interests of laborers of the whole society.

In the production and distribution of products produced by the economy under the ownership system by the whole people, the common interests of laborers of the whole society, which are composed of the immediate and long-term interests of laborers, will inevitably break up into state income, enterprises' income, and individual income. Because the economy under the ownership system by the whole people is a socialized large economy, which belongs to the economic system taking the state as its economic center and enterprises as its production units. The products of this economy are produced within the scope of enterprises. They are not only the common results of laborers in enterprises but also the common results of the coordinated efforts of the economy under the ownership system by the whole people. The status of the economy under the ownership system by the whole people is determined by the status of individual labor and of the labor organized by various enterprises. It is also determined by the organizational status of the economy under the ownership system by the whole people. In order to rationally utilize production and circulation funds, the income used for the long-term interests of laborers of the whole society must be distributed between the state and enterprises according to the principle of being beneficial to the socialist economy. In order to utilize rationally consumption funds, the income used for the immediate interests of laborers of the whole society must be distributed between the state, enterprises, and individuals according to the principle of overall planning with due consideration for all concerned, and consumer goods must be distributed among individuals in enterprises under the principle of to each according to his work.

Therefore, economic interests in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people are not the summation of state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests, but the dissolution of the common interests of laborers of the whole society. State interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests are based on the common interests of

laborers of the whole society. They represent a different aspect of the common interests of laborers of the whole society.

Since state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests are the dissolution of the common interests of laborers of the whole society, their proportion to the total products must be fixed according to the common interests of laborers of the whole society. Any combination of state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests which can create the largest common interests for laborers of the whole society is the best combination; and any combination of the three kinds of interests which is detrimental to the common interests of laborers of the whole society is a bad combination. This is a criterion for judging whether the distribution of the interests of the economy under the ownership system by the whole people is rational.

II

After the common interests of laborers of the whole society dissolve into state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests, various interests will become independent and have their own characteristics, and complicated relationships will emerge among them.

The necessary labor needed for the production of the total social products reflects individual interests, and it changes into individual income in the forms of salary, bonuses, and so on. Individual income must be measured on the basis of labor and under the principle of more pay for more work, and it can be used by staff and workers according to their wishes. Thus, people will have the following impression: It seems that the individual interests of laborers are interests outside the common interests of laborers of the whole society.

State interests present just the opposite phenomenon. They are reflected by surplus labor in the production of the total social products. Through the redistribution of revenue, surplus labor will be used by the state for reproduction and other public needs, which are separated from individual consumption. Thus, people will have the following impression: It seems that state interests are the common interests of laborers of the whole society.

For a long time, people have been constrained by the above phenomenon. State interests have been one-sidedly stressed to the negation and neglect of individual interests. Understanding and handling problems in the above manner is wrong, and it is an erroneous "leftist" tendency in economic work.

Undoubtedly, state income is an important part of the common interests of laborers of the whole society. It is used mainly for socialist economic and cultural construction, and for the needs of state power. It has provided an important material foundation for our socialist economy and culture, and for the consolidation and development of our socialist country. It is the material support for safeguarding the socialist system. However, it is only a part of the common interests of laborers of the whole society.

One-sidedly expanding the proportion of state income will reduce that part of the total social products used for individual income and will harm the individual interests of laborers. In the final analysis, doing harm to the individual interests of laborers means doing harm to the common interests of laborers of the whole society.

Socialism has abolished the system of exploitation of man by man, and all the social wealth belongs to the laboring people. "What is obtained from the people" must be "used for the people." At no time must we overlook the individual material interests of laborers. The realization of individual material interests directly affects the initiative of laborers. Guaranteeing the individual material interests of laborers is beneficial to enhancing the initiative of laborers, and doing harm to the individual material interests of laborers will dampen the initiative of laborers. Giving visible material interests to the people is an important principle in economic work. Over the past few years, the state has adopted major measures to correct "leftist" errors and raise the living standards of laborers. Marked results have been achieved in this respect.

But we must understand that individual interests recognized by socialism are fundamentally different from individual interests sought after under the private ownership system. In the economy under the socialist ownership system by the whole people, social common interests are the foundation of individual interests. Individual interests are not the foundation of social common interests. The common interests of laborers of the whole society are a monolithic formation based on the ownership system by the whole people. They are not the simple summation of the individual interests of separate laborers. In a society under the private ownership system, the common interests of the same private owning class are developed from individual interests. Each person is an independent private owner seeking after individual interests with private characteristics. Here, individual interests are placed above everything else, and the common interests of the private owning classes are based on individual interests, which are part of their sacred and inviolable private property.

Individual interests in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people are individual interests with different characteristics. Under the ownership system by the whole people, an individual is only a part of the whole. He is an integral part of the common owners and social labor force. He takes part in seeking after the overall interests and gets his own share in the course of doing so.

In comparison with the private ownership system, the relationships between individual and overall interests are just the other way around. Individual interests are developed from the common interests of laborers of the whole society and are based on the common interests of laborers of the whole society. The common interests of laborers of the whole society are the source of individual interests. Provided that other conditions remain unchanged, the amount of individual interests distributed from the total social products is determined by the amount of the common interests of laborers of the whole society. Therefore, under the ownership system by the

whole people, the common interests of laborers of the whole society are placed above everything else, individual interests are subordinate to the common interests of laborers of the whole society, and each laborer can only seek after individual interests which comply with the common interests of laborers of the whole society. When individual interests are in contradiction with the common interests of laborers of the whole society, they must be consciously abandoned or sacrificed. This is the economic source from which individual interests are subordinated to the common interests of laborers of the whole society. The reason why the noble socialist morality and strict socialist political requirements can be the examples of social life is that they have taken root in the economic soil.

The nature of the means of life affects the nature of individual interests. It has determined that we must give "tacit consent to different personal endowments," that individual income of laborers must be distributed according to the same measurement, and that the amount of labor each laborer contributes to society determines the portion of his individual income. However, no matter how large the portion of individual income of a laborer is, it does not affect the socialist nature of his individual income, as long as his individual income complies with his contributions to labor. In the present period, only the principle of to each according to his work is most beneficial to coordinating interests among laborers and to developing the economy under the ownership system by the whole people. Therefore, it is in compliance with the common interests of laborers of the whole society.

In the economy under the ownership system by the whole people, individual interests violating the common interests of laborers of the whole society are not permitted. Individual interests can have only a certain portion in the common interests of laborers of the whole society. The proportion of individual interests to the common interests of laborers of the whole society cannot be expanded without limitation. The distribution of individual interests to each laborer must not violate the principle of to each according to his work. Influenced by old ideological vestiges, some laborers abuse the right to allocate production materials and seize every opportunity to avail themselves of loopholes in the socialist system and to illegally seek after interests which are far beyond their contributions to labor. Such individual interests are against the ownership system by the whole people. They are detrimental and must be opposed.

III

Enterprises' interests are enterprises' net income after delivery of profits or taxes. They are allocated by enterprises according to state policies. In appearance, enterprises' interests seem to be collective interests existing absolutely outside state and individual interests.

In reality, enterprises' interests are not absolutely independent interests. Enterprises' interests are used in two ways. On the one hand, they are used for the individual and collective welfare of staff and workers of enterprises. In fact, they have become individual interests, or expanded

individual interests. On the other hand, they are used for reproduction and for the common satisfaction of needs. In fact, they have become the long-term interests of laborers of the whole society and are similar to state interests. Enterprises' interests are, in essence, the combination of a part of the immediate interests of laborers in enterprises and a part of the long-term interests of laborers of the whole society.

Since enterprises' interests are the combination of the above two kinds of interests, can enterprises' interests be abolished and directly replaced by state and individual interests? No. For a long time, people have held that the economy under the ownership system by the whole people is monolithic, that enterprises have no independent interests, and that all of their profits are turned over to the state for unified allocation and management. Practice has proved that this management system is detrimental to the development of the economy under the ownership system by the whole people.

Although enterprises do not belong to independent owners, they are relatively independent operating units. How they are run directly affects the economy under the ownership system by the whole people, and whether the economy under the ownership system by the whole people can thrive is based on how thousands of enterprises are run. In giving certain decisionmaking rights to enterprises, we must also give them certain interests. Merging a part of the immediate interests of laborers in enterprises and a part of the long-term interests of laborers of the whole society into enterprises' interests and linking enterprises' interests with enterprises' decision-making rights will in a better manner bring into play the initiative of enterprises.

Why must we merge a part of the immediate interests of laborers in enterprises and a part of the long-term interests of laborers of the whole society into enterprises' interests? Because as relatively independent production units, economically, enterprises want to have certain decision-making rights to manage their own reproduction; they know well their own production and can utilize funds according to their specific conditions. Allocating a part of enterprises' funds in an independent manner can vitalize the economy under the ownership system by the whole people and realize in a better manner the common interests of laborers of the whole society. Labor in the whole of the enterprises, which exists as relatively independent production units, is combined into a whole, and the labor results of each person will in the end manifest themselves in the total products of enterprises. Turning over a part of laborers' income to enterprises and then returning it to laborers will enable laborers to care for not only individual labor results but also enterprises' labor results. Therefore, we must recognize enterprises' interests, respect enterprises' interests, and bring into play the positive role of enterprises' interests. Over the past few years, there has been a marked increase in enterprises' income. This has played a good role in enlivening the economy.

The part of enterprises' interests used for individual interests is different from individual income in the form of salary. One reflects remuneration

for collective labor and the other reflects remuneration for individual labor. These two must not be confused. But they are the same in nature, that is, they are the manifestation of remuneration for labor. A part of enterprises' interests is allocated for public welfare, which is enjoyed by staff and workers, and another part is distributed to staff and workers like salary under the principle of to each according to his work.

The part of enterprises' long-term interests must not be confused with the part of state income used for reproduction. One reflects the needs for reproduction in the enterprise-controlled economy under the ownership system by the whole people, and the other reflects the needs for reproduction in the state-controlled economy under the ownership system by the whole people. But they are the same in nature, that is, they are the manifestation of the needs for reproduction in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people. This part of enterprises' interests must be allocated according to the common interests of laborers of the whole society and in the same manner in which state income is used for capital construction. The part of enterprises' interests obtained from the production materials owned by laborers of the whole society must be used for reproduction according to the common interests of laborers of the whole society. This part of interests cannot be distributed among staff and workers, because enterprises and enterprises' staff and workers are not independent owners of production materials. Therefore, they cannot obtain interests outside their contributions to labor by abusing the right to allocate production materials. The amount of labor used for the meticulous allocation of enterprises' funds will be compensated by the part of enterprises' income for individual interests. In this way, responsibility, power, and profits are combined. The advantage of allowing enterprises to allocate a part of their funds for reproduction is that they can do so in the light of their specific conditions, and the shortcoming is that it is easy for departmentalism to emerge. It is often the case that the position of enterprises makes it difficult to understand the overall needs, and if things are not handled properly, departmentalism and decentralization will emerge. In order to prevent and reduce this shortcoming, besides requiring enterprises to conscientiously study and follow the overall needs, we must also strengthen state supervision. If necessary, the state can have the right to make the final decision on the use of enterprises' funds.

In the distribution of the total products, what relationships should be maintained between the long-term interests in enterprises' income and state income?

First, we must guarantee that enterprises have the right to allocate certain funds. Generally speaking, as long as enterprises' products are in compliance with social needs, enterprises should have the right to allocate the depreciation funds which are used for maintaining simple reproduction, and enterprises should have certain funds for tapping potentials, innovations, and reform. Over the past few years, there has been a gradual increase in the funds allocated by enterprises. This has become an important force in reproduction in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people.

Second, we must take state income as the dominant factor. The socialist economy is a planned economy, which cannot rely solely on running enterprises, as the capitalist economy does. On the one hand, the socialist economy must be able to enliven the economy of enterprises, and on the other hand, it must be able to enliven the whole national economy under a unified plan. The development of social production must rely on both enterprises' income and state income. China is a large but poor country. Only by relying mainly on the centralization of funds by state finance can we rapidly bring forward key construction projects. Bringing forward key construction projects is the crux for doing a good job in ushering in an overall economic situation. If the overall economic situation is bad, no matter how well small construction projects in the localities are carried out, it will be difficult to realize the revitalization of the economy in the 1990's.

IV

We implement the principle of giving due consideration to state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests. This principle is the manifestation of the principle concerning socialist material interests in the economy under the ownership system by the whole people.

The fulfillment of the highest standards for giving due consideration to interests in various aspects means the realization of the largest common interests of laborers of the whole society. Without basing ourselves on the common interests of laborers of the whole society, we cannot judge whether interests in various aspects have been given due consideration. The common interests of laborers of the whole society and interests in various aspects are the unity of opposites between unification and independence. Interests in various aspects are based on the common interests of laborers of the whole society. This is unification. There are contradictions between interests in various aspects, and these interests cannot merge into one. This is independence. If the relationships between interests in various aspects are handled well, laborers of the whole society will get larger common interests; if the relationships are not handled well, the common interests of laborers of the whole society will be infringed upon.

Many people know the principle of giving due consideration to state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests. But in practice, some people forget to carry it out. They pay attention only to state interests to the neglect of enterprises' interests or individual interests, or vice versa. Paying attention only to one kind of interests is detrimental to socialism and to bringing into play the initiative in various fields. The principle of giving due consideration to interests in various aspects is a principle for bringing into play the initiative in various fields. It is a socialist principle for protecting the economy under the ownership system by the whole people.

People understand the principle of giving due consideration to state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests. But why does

the phenomenon of paying attention only to one kind of interests keep emerging? There are subjective causes. There are some people who pay attention only to local and individual interests to the neglect of overall interests. In order to overcome this phenomenon, we must carry out ideological and political work among them to enable them to have a perception of long-term interests. Only by basing themselves on steady economic increases can the people become well-off. The increase in individual interests must be based on the increase in production. We must also educate cadres and masses to foster the habit of paying attention to the overall situation and to oppose departmentalism and decentralization. Only by overcoming unhealthy tendencies such as decentralizing financial resources, carrying out duplicate construction, abusing rights, and disputing over trifles, can we concentrate our efforts on the four modernizations drive. The erroneous practice of arbitrarily raising the prices of production materials and exacting charges from production units at will has infringed upon the common interests of laborers in a more serious manner. There are objective causes for the tendency of paying attention only to one kind of interests. Because the economic system concerning prices, the supply of goods, and plans is irrational, the phenomenon which is beneficial to the state but detrimental to enterprises or vice versa cannot be corrected. Here, it is necessary to reform the irrational economic system so as to guarantee that interests in various aspects are given due consideration.

In giving due consideration to interests in various aspects so as to promote a common growth of interests in various aspects, we must concentrate our efforts not only on the redistribution of the material interests which have already been obtained, but also on increasing the common interests of laborers of the whole society. Only when the common interests of laborers of the whole society have increased, can interests in various aspects be given due consideration and a common growth be promoted. We must readjust interests in various aspects under the conditions of energetically developing social production, improving management and administration, and producing more and better social products.

If we want to give due consideration to interests in various aspects, we must adhere to the principle of keeping productivity increase ahead of salary increases. Increases in consumption cannot exceed increases in production. Only when increases in production are faster than increases in consumption, can the long-term and immediate interests of the people be given due consideration.

We must link interests in various aspects with each other so that we can give them due consideration. When increasing state interests, we must also increase individual and enterprises' interests. The increase in individual and enterprises' interests must be based on the increase in state interests. In this way, we can avoid the phenomenon of paying attention to one aspect to the neglect of others.

In the work of substituting taxes for delivery of profits, we must adhere to the principle of "the state should get the largest interests, the enterprise should get the medium interests, and the individual should get

the smallest interests." This is the principle of giving due consideration to the three kinds of interests. The correct implementation of this principle will give enterprises vitality and pressure. It will also guarantee that the state can concentrate financial resources on key construction projects.

When carrying out reform in the commercial and circulation fields, we must give due consideration not only to state interests, enterprises' interests, and individual interests of enterprises' staff and workers, but also to individual interests of consumers of the whole society. We must resolutely oppose the tendency of infringing upon consumers' interests. We must concentrate our efforts on improving service quality, increasing the sales volume, accelerating commodity circulation, and reducing the circulation cost so as to increase the income of the state, enterprises, and staff and workers on the basis of protecting consumers' interests.

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STRENGTHEN PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF VARIOUS TRADES AND PROFESSIONS IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

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[Article by Xu Jingan [1776 2529 1344]]

[Text] In industrial production, the separation of departments and localities as independent systems, leading to overlapping construction and blind production, has become a prominent problem interfering with an improvement in our economic results. Take durable consumer goods like bicycles for example. State plans call for the production of 33 million bicycles for 1985. But the number of bicycles actually arranged for production in various parts of the country reaches 46.3 million. Purchasing power is expected to be exceeded by 24.4 million bicycles. The main cause of this situation is the blind distribution of production points. The state has made plans and arrangements for 57 production points and 87 factories. But various areas have themselves arranged 74 production points and 124 factories exceeding the figures called for by state plans by 30 and 55 percent respectively. This will lead to the following: 1) A waste of the money invested and the tying up of capital--according to reckoning, with the actual bicycle production capacity of the whole country for 1985 exceeding purchasing power, the waste of capital invested will reach 2.4 to 3.6 billion yuan. With the grand total of actual national production from 1981 to 1985 exceeding purchasing power in the same period, a sum of 9.5 billion yuan will be tied up. 2) Failure to have a rational level of quantity causing an increase in production costs--according to statistics concerning 59 bicycle factories compiled in 1980, a total of 45 of the enterprises had an annual production of below 200,000 bicycles, which represented a rational quantity level, and a total of 15 enterprises had an output of under 10,000. According to statistics concerning the 102 types of bicycle produced by the above enterprises, 79 types involved a cost of above 100 yuan, representing 78 percent, and 23 types a cost of above 150 yuan, accounting for 22 percent. In some cases, the cost reached as high as 499 yuan. 3) A slowdown in the development of products of famous brands and the blind development of unknown brands--up to 1985, such well-known brands of bicycle as Feige, Yongjiu, Fenghuang, Jinlu, and Wuyang will show an increase of only 82 percent, while those of unknown brands will register an increase of 237 percent. Such an irrational situation exists not just in the bicycle trade. It is of a very universal nature.

According to statistics, of the capital construction projects taken up in the 3 years from 1979 to 1981, 31 percent failed to play a proper role, while 37 percent of the money invested also failed to produce the desired effect. This means that we have still not given up the old path of investing much capital only to reap poor results, as far as our economic construction and development of production are concerned.

If we follow this old path, what will be the results? First, construction funds cannot be concentrated on key construction projects and on the technical reform of enterprises. Due to failure to reach a rational quantity level, high costs, and heavy losses, a large number of enterprises naturally try to increase their investments by every means and to expand their production capacity in a bid to increase the quantity level and get out of the red. Second, the irrational mix of investment commitments has brought about an irrational organizational structure of enterprises. A large number of new enterprises have been set up not in line with the principle of cooperation in specialized fields, but in accordance with the demands of localities and departments as separate entities. Thus, the spending of large amounts of money has failed to bring about a higher level of specialization and a higher degree of intensification on the part of our enterprises. On the contrary, this has caused them to develop in the direction of being comprehensive and complete and small and complete on a more scattered basis. Third, the irrational organizational structure of enterprises stands in the way of technical progress. Given failure to realize cooperative production in specialized fields, the advanced techniques of existing enterprises cannot be quickly passed on to new ones. When the production capacity exceeds social demand, the existing enterprises are also likely to impose a technical blockade against new ones, in order to maintain their own superiority. This will make it difficult for new enterprises to overcome problems in regard to production techniques and technologies. The quality of their products will thus long remain at the same level. Fourth, for the above reasons, a rapid increase in the production of fine-quality products of famous brands is also made impossible. Demand for them cannot be satisfied. On the other hand, products of lower quality are turned out in large quantities. A serious consequence of all this is that the investment of large sums of money only results in the accumulation of large stocks of products and the tying up of a large amount of circulating capital. When such a situation reaches a certain stage, the operation of the whole national economy will suffer obstruction, forcing us again to make investigations and studies, to reduce the scale of capital construction, to close and convert a number of enterprises, and to sell large quantities of goods at reduced prices or write them off as losses. It can be seen that if such a state of affairs is not changed, there can basically be no change in the situation of poor social economic results. The strategic goal of doubling total industrial and agricultural output value also can hardly be achieved.

Such a situation must be changed. A change is also possible. This calls for the adoption of a series of measures in regard to the economic system and the economic policy. One of the measures is to strengthen trade management. A trade forms with the development of the social division of

labor and the improvement in the degree of specialization. In the same trade, the technologies, techniques, and social needs for various products are basically identical. Therefore, doing a good job of making market forecasts for main products in a given trade, making plans and arrangements for the production capacity, introducing new techniques and technologies, and drawing up appropriate economic and technical policies and setting appropriate technical standards is an important part of the business of managing a trade. But under the existing economic system, enterprises in the same trade are placed under separate departments and localities. A unified trade is basically nonexistent. The department in charge usually focuses on those enterprises directly under its control and leaves alone the enterprises under other departments or localities. Nor can it find time to bother with the management of the latter. These latter enterprises thus cannot give full play to their proper role. This is considered irrational by anyone. But no one can do anything. As a result, such problems as overlapping construction and blind production can hardly be overcome, as one year follows another.

To give full play to the role of a trade, we must at present tackle the formation of plans for a given trade as an important task. In April 1981, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: We must seriously do a good job of making plans for a trade. Concerning those products having a great impact on the national economy and those involving serious overlapping in their production, the relevant central departments must put forth proper reorganization plans in line with the principle of rational planning, with the whole situation taken into consideration. In a report at the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC in November 1982, he again suggested that based on products, relevant departments must, in cooperation with localities, organize powerful leadership groups, formulate trade plans, and put forth programs for enterprise readjustment. But up to now, proper progress has not been made in regard to trade planning work. This is, in the final analysis, attributable to our lack of understanding of the importance and urgency of such work. We know that in capitalist countries, capital moves from one trade to another, being subject to the law of value. Where this is realized through spontaneous regulation by prices, there inevitably exists a high degree of blindness, often causing the disruption of the production capacity. Now, many bourgeois governments are resorting to national intervention. Appropriate trade policies are formulated respectively for new trades that call for development, traditional trades that call for protection, and backward trades that need to be eliminated. The aim is to guide economic development. Ours is a socialist country practicing planned economy. The distribution of financial and material resources among various departments is chiefly decided upon by the state. The formulation of trade plans should be an important part of planned economy. This is not only an important basis for working out a macroeconomic balance but also a necessary basis for providing guidance concerning microeconomic activities. Concretely speaking, our economic development should be based on the development of dominant trades. At the same time, focusing on the needed ratios set by dominant trades in the coordinated development of various sectors, we must properly bring about a balance in the national economy. The formation of long-term trade plans is a prerequisite for scientifically

determining the strategy for economic development. Meanwhile, only by determining which trades should be developed and to what degree and in what way and determining which trades should be restricted and to what degree and in what way can we really carry out plans on a solid basis. Otherwise, planning is only a job half done and microeconomic activities will inevitably fall out of line with macroeconomic demands.

As far as the control of investments in capital construction is concerned, failure to combine it with trade planning and trade policies will make effective control difficult. According to the traditional practice, we only specify who controls large and medium-sized construction projects and who controls small ones, and specify who controls investments above given limits and who controls investments below given limits. As a result, to escape examination and supervision, certain departments and localities turn what should be large and medium-sized projects into small ones and what should be projects above given investment limits into ones below given limits. This results in the blind development of small iron and steel factories, small chemical factories, small paint factories, small textile mills, small sugar refineries, and so forth. From January to October 1982, we closed and converted more than 3,700 enterprises. Meanwhile, we also newly established more than 3,800 enterprises. Moreover, most of them were small enterprises with excessive production capacities. To change this situation, a correct method is to exercise control based on different trades. First, based on the different conditions of various trades, we must define authority over the control of investments. We must specify which trades can be controlled by a locality or by which level, and which trades cannot be controlled by a locality or by which level. Second, based on the different conditions of various trades, we must define investment policies. For some trades with production capacities already in excess of social needs, we can set a period of time in which no new construction or expansion projects can be taken up, if no approval is given. Concerning some trades which call for an expansion of the production capacity but which do not call for the arrangement of new production points, we can encourage the reform of existing enterprises and the organization of specialized cooperative production. For some trades which call for the arrangement of new production points, we should carry out construction efforts in accordance with stipulations concerning authority over investment management, the demands of trade plans, and standards for the establishment of factories. Thus, based on the different conditions of various trades, we should encourage what should be encouraged and restrict what should be restricted. Only in this way can we really put a stop to overlapping construction and blind production.

Not guided by trade plans, the effort to reorganize and reform enterprises is also likely to give rise to great blindness. At present, we call for the integration and reorganization of enterprises based on cities as centers. We must first clearly define which trades are suitable for reorganization within the scope of a city and which trades must be reorganized to go beyond a city. For example, the facilities of various enterprises and units serving production and scientific research, such as forging, heat treatment, electroplating, machine repairing, production of

molds, measurement, calculation, testing, and so forth, and facilities used in various services should be organized by the city in a unified manner, in order to introduce specialization and to raise the degree of socialization. Enterprises which call for relatively great continuity in production, which necessarily involve the comprehensive use of raw materials, and which produce on a small scale with a great variety involved, should be organized into economic complexes by the city to which they belong, in order to allow the full utilization of resources and the rational arrangement of production. Those enterprises that call for a high degree of specialization and for large-scale production should be organized for integrated production to extend beyond a city and a district. For example, the bicycle trade should organize complexes that go beyond a district, with the emphasis on enterprises producing such famous brands of bicycles as Yongjiu, Fenghuang, Feige, Jinlu, Wuyang, and so forth. For products of this kind, if each city is allowed to reorganize production efforts on its own, complexes operating separately and independently will result, adding to overlapping construction. For example, in restructuring the bicycle industry, a city obtained a bank loan of more than 20 million yuan as an investment to increase production capacity. Most of the bicycle parts were produced by itself in a break with the previous practice of importing same from other areas. The rate of assembly rose from 27 percent to 85 percent. But after the reorganization effort, the products did not sell well. Given increased costs, there was no margin of profit left. Nor did the city have the ability to repay the debt. Economic results were very poor. As far as the whole society was concerned, this practice also had a highly unfavorable effect. It narrowed the scope for division of labor and cooperation and gave rise to an accumulation of parts. This made for a more serious situation marked by the existing production capacity for parts exceeding the assembly capacity and the assembly capacity exceeding social needs. Social economic results therefore suffered. As far as the reform of enterprises is concerned, we must also have a clearcut direction: Should a priority enterprise raise its own capacity for manufacturing complete sets of equipment and develop in the direction of versatility, or have parts manufactured by a third party and expand specialized cooperation? Given poor economic and technical conditions, should an enterprise continue to take up assignments and lay in equipment and seek an overall expansion of its production capacity in accordance with the demands of an enterprise producing complete sets of equipment, or should it operate as a parts factory, carry out special-purpose equipment transformation, and develop assembly line operations? If such a problem is not solved, there will be a great waste of capital. Moreover, the more efforts made in reform, the more irrational things will become. For example, the "six-five" technical reform program drawn up by a certain machine tool works called for adding equipment worth about 1 million yuan. Most of the functions performed by such equipment had to do with problems that could be solved through cooperation. Given a blind increase in fixed assets with the development of the reform program, the equipment utilization rate and the returns on capital would drop further. In sum, if we do not draw up trade plans in line with the principle of being rational, with the whole situation taken into consideration, and if we allow various cities and enterprises to launch reorganization and reform

efforts with partial interests in mind, we cannot avoid the appearance of such blindness. Nor can we achieve the aim of improving social economic results.

Trade planning is so important. Why is such work not well promoted?

First, people do not attach importance to trade planning in regard to ideological awareness. They think that the formulation of trade plans cannot produce much effect. Whether the formulation of trade plans is helpful chiefly depends on whether appropriate economic and administrative measures are taken to ensure the implementation of such plans. In the past, we adopted the method of announcing what should be enterprises at fixed points, or at unfixed points. But due to the absence of objective standards and the lack of authoritativeness, it was difficult to follow the method strictly. We should set scientific standards for the establishment of factories and standards for products and then announce them in the form of law. Where the standards are met, approval is given for the arrangement of construction, the start of production and the selling of products. Where the standards are not met, all enterprises must be reorganized or closed down. For example, the bicycle trade can lay down the rule that no enterprise producing an output of less than 200,000 bicycles and at a cost exceeding 100 yuan should be allowed to turn out bicycles as complete units. Meanwhile, taxes on bicycles are to be raised, so that an enterprise incurring a cost above 100 yuan can make no profit. Thus, many bicycle factories with their small output, their high costs, and their products of poor quality cannot survive. The only way out is for them to cooperate with producers of famous brands as manufacturers of parts, or to make a change in production. This approach can prevent our continuing blindly to expand the production capacity for bicycles of unknown brands and prevent the accumulation of products. Enterprises producing bicycles of famous brands can also draw on existing production facilities for manufacturing parts quickly to increase production and to satisfy social needs.

Second, there has not been an appropriate change in the departments in charge in regard to a shift of emphasis in work. For a long period of time, the departments in charge have been accustomed to concentrating their main energies on such matters as managing enterprises, starting new projects, and distributing investment funds and materials. They have failed to attach proper importance to the strengthening of enterprise management and to matters such as the formulation of trade plans and policies, the setting of standards, and so forth. Basically to solve this problem we should gradually enable departments in charge not to bother with the control of the concrete work of enterprises, or to exercise less control, for that matter. Thus, they can really give full play to their role in trade management. At present, we can organize trade planning groups at different levels that are both authoritative and dynamic, and energetically promote the business of formulating trade plans.

In formulating trade plans, we must first follow correct guiding ideas. In the past, in handling the business of trade planning, we often failed to

proceed from a macroeconomic balance. Instead, we one-sidedly sought the development of our own trade and scrambled for investment funds and the allocation of projects. To formulate plans is to seek the proportionate division of social labor based on realistic social needs. To this end, we must start with an investigation of the conditions of a trade and make forecasts about social needs for major products in a given trade for the period stipulated in a plan. Meanwhile, we must have a clear idea about existing production points, production capacity, stocks on hand, and other matters. On this basis, we must gradually establish forecasting and information centers related to a trade. Thus, we can provide scientific data for the formulation of plans and the strengthening of trade management. In the past, trade planning was often a matter of pursuing an increase in quantity on the basis of existing techniques, equipment, and technologies. We very seldom took increased variety and improved quality as a direction or an object. To formulate plans is to realize technical progress and to achieve advanced means to produce new products. To this end, trade planning must be combined with technical transformation. In line with trends in technical development, we must define a policy for technical equipment and formulate plans for upgrading products. In the past, trade planning was often a matter of making no comparison between input and output. In order to expand the production capacity and to accelerate the pace of development, we thought nothing of committing large amounts of manpower and material and financial resources. To formulate plans is to improve economic results and to create more social wealth with the least possible consumption of labor. To this end, we must make a comparison between the input of use value and output, so as to reduce material consumption, and especially make a comparison between the input of value and output, adding to returns on capital. This is the beginning and the end of the business of formulating trade plans. It is also the only criterion by which to judge whether plans are rational.

In formulating trade plans, we must have a clearcut idea of our tasks and assignments. First, in making plans for newly increased production capacities, we must not only put forth ideas on the boundaries between quantities to be developed and on rational arrangements but also define authority over the control of investments and specify the central or the local level as the one in charge. In light of the actual demand for products, we must also put forth a policy for investment encouragement or restriction. Second, we must make plans for the rational organization of existing production capacities, put forth a program for the readjustment, reorganization, and reform of enterprises, and specify which trade is suitable for reorganization on a national scale, which trade is suitable for reorganization across the boundaries of areas, and which trade is suitable for reorganization within the scope of a locality. Furthermore, we must draw up policies and measures to ensure the implementation of plans--policies and measures including the setting of technical standards for products and standards for the establishment of factories, and the issuance of permits for the arrangement of construction and permits for production. We must also put forth pricing, taxation, and credit policies. This undoubtedly involves a large amount of work. Trade planning groups should organize departments, localities, and forces in all segments of

society to team up in doing the work. By properly doing this work in a down-to-earth manner, we can, on the basis of a rational economy, carry out technical transformation, achieve technical progress, and improve economic results. In this way, we can also complete and improve many fundamental tasks, enabling our economic management level to register a further great improvement.

CSO: 4004/46

FROM LEI FENG'S SPIRIT TO ZHANG HAIDI'S SPIRIT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 17-19

[Article by Gan Feng [2413 1496]]

[Text] "Throw your limited life into the limitless 'service of the people.'" This is what Lei Feng said, and what he practiced.

"You are a shooting star, and you must leave your rays of light to the people of the world." This is what Zhang Haidi says, and what she practices.

There was a gap of 20 years between Lei Feng and Zhang Haidi. They represent precisely two generations of young people who grew up after the birth of new China. Of these 20 years, 10 were taken up with the chaos of the "Cultural Revolution"; our state and people suffered tremendous hardship, and our young people grew up in an arduous, tortuous way. A few years ago, among some people, and especially among some young people, there arose an ideological doubt: Was the Lei Feng spirit out of date? Was the communist world outlook still alive? The deeds of Zhang Haidi provided the best, strongest answer:

The spirit of Lei Feng was not out of date, but with the progress of history, had taken on the new look of the 1980's!

The communist world outlook was not only still alive, but, tempered by the hardships of the "Cultural Revolution," shone with an even more glorious light in the new historical period!

Some comrades separate the spirit of Zhang Haidi from that of Lei Feng, and even put the two in opposition; this is incorrect. This division is a division of history; and this opposition consists of failing to see the common essence of the Zhang Haidi and the Lei Feng spirit, and is instead making too much of certain differences between them under different historical conditions. This division and opposition, like the division and opposition between Lei Feng and Liu Hulan, Dong Cunrui, and other heroic figures, is incorrect. The Zhang Haidi spirit is the same as the Lei Feng spirit; ultimately, both represent communist spirit.

When Zhang Haidi talked of a "shooting star," was she not saying the same as Lei Feng when he talked of life being "limited"? When Zhang Haidi said that you must "leave your rays of light to the people of the world," was she not saying, as Lei Feng did, that you must "throw your limited life into the limitless 'service of the people'"?

Therefore, when learning from Zhang Haidi, we must, like she and Lei Feng, staunchly uphold the communist world outlook.

Zhang Haidi grew up with our present generation of young people. She went forward in the same age, on the same ship of fate, on the same arduous path. Though life was even harder to her, though the demons of fate swallowed two-thirds of her strength when she was only 5 years old, she nevertheless stood up more determinedly than anyone else, and became a fighter. Though people can take different roads to establishing a communist outlook, they must all break through their narrow individual world, and let their thoughts fly to the masses of the people; in the actual practice of serving the people, and in the great cause of the people's promotion of history, they must come to understand the value of their own lives, and turn the isolated "ego in itself" into a conscious "ego for itself." In the process of establishing a communist outlook, this represents the great leap from quantitative to qualitative change.

One important reason why Zhang Haidi's thoughts and deeds have evoked such great feeling and strong response from the youth of today, and so deeply moved their hearts, was that in the process of establishing a communist outlook, she clearly showed the characteristics of the age, and so has great persuasive powers over us. She is right among us, right by our sides!

The growth of Lei Feng from a child suffering under the three great mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism to a communist soldier, had its own historical inevitability and characteristics of the age. He was an outstanding representative of youth in the pre-"Cultural Revolution" period. Though Lei Feng died long ago, his spirit lives on. At the time, his contemporaries who grew up with him were at the prime of life; now, they are already middle-aged, and have matured through the tough experiences of the "Cultural Revolution"; many of them now make up the main force on the various battlefronts of socialist modernization. Were not the outstanding middle-aged intellectuals, of whom Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu were representative, the youths of that time? Are they not the flowers opened by the spirit of Lei Feng, and the fruits of that spirit? Some people call the youths who grew up before the "Cultural Revolution" the "stagnant generation"; this is basically mistaken.

Characteristics are a reflection of essence. By the same reasoning, when we talk of the characteristics of young people in the 1980's, we should look at the essence and main trends of these young people, which are inseparable from the mission of the age which they face and the historical conditions under which they grew up. The thoughts and moving deeds of Zhang Haidi provide beneficial enlightenment to us in understanding our youths of the 1980's and their characteristics.

What, then, are the characteristics of China's youth in the 1980's?

They have come to embrace Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought through study and thinking during the process of emancipation of the mind, bringing order out of chaos, and achieving socialism. Because they are at a great distance from the Chinese people's struggle for liberation in the past, and have grown up during the decade of internal disorder which was the "Cultural Revolution," their acceptance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has generally come about through a process of accepting communism and patriotism through their study of modern Chinese history, a process of studying the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, a process of bringing order out of chaos, and studying the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a process of repeated thought in practice. If we fail to see the characteristics and process of the historical conditions under which this generation of young people came to embrace Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and only look at the question from the point of view of certain phenomena which appeared temporarily in the vicissitudes of history, and say therefore that there exists some sort of "crisis of faith" among modern youth, and so on, then we are mistaken, we do not understand or have confidence in the essence and main trend of China's youth.

The mission of their age is to "realize the four modernizations, and the revival of China," and to build a socialism with Chinese characteristics. Therefore, the diligent study of scientific knowledge, technology, and the various skills needed to build socialism, and great efforts in production and work, have inevitably come to form a salient feature of Chinese youth in the 1980's. In the past, successive generations of young people, and in particular their progressive elements, have made the greatest possible efforts to realize the mission of their age, and now it is the turn of this generation of youth. Can we fulfill our own task? We can! If we grumble that our motherland is poor, and that its science and technology are backward, envying the West rather than working hard for our country's prosperity, then we have no future!

China's youth of the 1980's have another particularly outstanding essential characteristic, which is that they are determined to carry out reforms. If we do not carry out reforms, then the four modernizations cannot be realized, and it will be impossible to build a socialism with Chinese characteristics. Only through implementing reforms can we make full use of the advantages of the socialist system, bring socialist activities into full play, and bring out the creativity and sense of being masters in the masses of the people. The youth of today have suffered relatively little of the bonds imposed by the "mold" of the "left," and have the courage to reform and accept new things quickly, but they are often unclear as to the aims, direction and complexity of the reform. Their correct guidance constitutes an important responsibility of party and CYL organizations at all levels.

Young people have many merits, but also a natural weakness, which is that they easily suffer from naivety, and sometimes pursue mistaken lines of thinking in society. Some even call this a characteristic of the youth of the 1980's, and praise themselves for it. This is highly incorrect. This generation of young people represents the successors of the proletarian revolutionary cause, and should consciously overcome this weakness, accepting the guidance of the older generation of revolutionaries. The concept of the "generation gap" is an extremely destructive and mistaken one. What sort of logic is involved in the idea that there is a gap between the two revolutionary generations, but young people should link up instead with the thinking and concepts of the bourgeois academics of the 18th and 19th centuries! Ultimately, does it guide young people forward, or make them fall off their steeds--mistaking retrogression for progress?

When we study Zhang Haidi, we should think over these questions carefully, and look for the differences between ourselves and Zhang Haidi. If there are disparities, but we are going in the same direction as her, then we must work hard to progress; if, however, the disparities lie in a different direction from her, we must first correct the orientation of our progress.

Young friends, there are always different waves in the torrent of life. Let us try to get a grip on the helm of life, and break through the waves toward communism!

CSO: 4004/46

BEING BUSY AND READING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 p 19

[Article by Ma Cheng [7456 1361]; taken from Jiangsu's QUNZHONG No 14, 1983]

[Text] As soon as it is proposed that cadres should read diligently, and work hard to study the theory of revolution and scientific and cultural knowledge, some comrades mutter: We are too busy working! How can we pay any attention to books? In fact, as far as reading is concerned, a little more work is a beneficial factor. If you are busy, and have more things to deal with, you encounter more contradictions, and your reading therefore has more aim to it; reading becomes a more useful exercise. The attitude that if you are busy working there is no way of reading books, and that you should therefore not have to read, is obviously one-sided.

Liu Xiang, of the Western Han, said: "Books are an antidote to worries; if you read books, then you can cure your worries." Books represent the treasure chest of human wisdom. Reading is an important path to increasing knowledge, enriching thinking, broadening the mind, and raising the standard of one's work. The more you read, the more knowledge you gain, and the better your ability to observe and analyze problems, so that when you come to deal with things, you do them quickly but with method and order, with the result that you achieve twice as much with half the work. Because if you fail to read books because you are too busy, and your work relies only on enthusiasm, then your hard work will have difficulty in achieving its end, and it will very likely produce chaos and mistakes. Many people have learned a sufficiently profound lesson in this respect in the past.

In the history of our country, almost all people of note, however busy they were, never forgot to read books. According to the "History of the Han--Treatise on Punishment and Law," Emperor Qin Shihuang "personally loved literature; in the day, he sat in judgment, and at night he did paperwork." Qin Shihuang was emperor of the whole country, so you can imagine how busy he was, but he always remembered to "do paperwork at night." Of course, Qin Shihuang read with the purpose of consolidating his feudal domination. Obviously, our aim in reading today is quite different, but this spirit of reading books is highly praiseworthy. Hong Xiufu, the famous scholar of the Northern Sung Dynasty, when he went to Lanshan Mountain in Hunan to be a county magistrate, took with him very simple luggage, but brought a whole

pile of books as well. Because he read diligently, he had wide knowledge, so the cases which he tried were not only entirely correct, but his words of judgment were just, reasonable, and persuasive. The practice in ancient times of reading in order to become an official is not something we should adopt, but it is reasonable to say that reading is necessary to carry out official duties.

As for the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, their spirit of reading determinedly in the midst of hard work is even more praiseworthy. In the war years, when Comrade Mao Zedong had a host of military duties, he always had a book in his hand on military maneuvers, and often said to his soldiers that only by studying diligently and reading more books could they broaden their minds. Comrade Zhou Enlai was state premier, with a thousand things to do every day, but he never forgot to read and study, and made "study harder" the first point of his own training program. Thus we can see that in order to work well, you must study diligently, and the busier you are, the more you must determine to study.

Being busy is a fact of life for leading cadres at all levels. But as long as we understand the reasoning that "study cures worries," and raise our consciousness to study, we will be able to organize our time scientifically, find "leisure" in the midst of our hard work, and determine to read and study. Only if we progress in our studies can we do our work properly. This is what many comrades say from experience. Only through study, through working hard to raise our level of revolutionariness, knowledge, and specialization, can we better shoulder the heavy task of building a modernized, strong socialist state.

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EARNESTLY PUT EDUCATION IN A STRATEGIC POSITION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 20-23

[Article by Lu Qinyi [7120 2953 0308]]

[Text] The 12th CPC Congress has defined the strategic importance of education in socialist construction. The broad masses of cadres and people have also profoundly realized through practice the importance of science and culture and the urgency of training qualified personnel. Many areas and departments have placed education on an important agenda. They have worked out plans and adopted measures in order to improve conditions for running schools, to train more teachers, and to enhance teaching quality. A number of forms for running schools have been devised, forms which conform to the needs of socialist construction and are welcomed by the masses. However, there are still some comrades who have not yet truly realized this strategically important decision of the party, or have some lopsided and confused ideas about it. We should further deepen our theoretical understanding of this matter and truly put education in a strategic position.

Strategic Position of Education in Socialist Modernization

As early as at the national conference of science held in 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping had already pointed out that science and technology are key to socialist modernization and that education is a basis for training scientific and technical personnel. How should we bring the role of education as a basis, into play? This is a very important issue confronting us.

There is no doubt that in order to carry out socialist modernization, we need various kinds of senior and middle-level personnel with professional skill. Accordingly, we should develop various kinds of educational undertakings. However, such understanding is still insufficient. Proceeding from the fundamental task of the building of socialist spiritual and material civilization, we should further understand the utmost importance and urgency of the development of the educational undertaking to the magnificent goal put forth by the 12th CPC Congress. Only thus can we profoundly understand the far-reaching significance of education as a strategic focal point.

Judging from the present situation of economic development, we know that industrial and agricultural production in our country have developed considerably and that a number of items have reached the advanced level of the world. However, generally speaking, our present level is still comparatively low. The modernization of science and technology is a key to changing such a situation and smoothly achieving the magnificent goals of economic construction put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress. To realize the modernization of science and technology, we should do well in laying a good educational foundation. We should train a large quantity of various kinds of specialized personnel and enhance the scientific and cultural level of the broad masses of workers, peasants, and cadres.

Since the founding of new China, the educational undertaking in China has been developed considerably and the number of students in various kinds of schools has increased by tenfold or so. We have trained a large number of specialized personnel. However, due to the influence of the long-existing erroneous concept which looks down upon education, science, and culture, in addition to severe sabotage during the 10 years of internal disorder, the educational undertaking is not in accord with our economic construction. This contradiction has manifested itself mainly in the following:

First, the development of high and secondary vocational education has not yet met the needs of socialist construction. At present, only about 10 percent of the graduates of senior secondary schools can enter universities and colleges. Secondary vocational education, which was severely sabotaged during the 10 years of internal disorder, has not yet been fully restored. There is a severe imbalance in the proportional relations between higher education and secondary vocational education. The students of secondary vocational schools are insufficient. Every year, only less than 300,000 students graduate from universities and colleges. The number of university and college graduates which various quarters need is 200 to 300 percent higher than the actual number of graduates. Demand has considerably exceeded supply with regard to some graduates specialized in certain fields. With the development of our socialist construction, various quarters will need more and more various kinds of middle-level and senior specialized personnel. This contradiction will become more conspicuous.

Second, the present development of rural education is not in accord with the development of agriculture. To truly establish modernized agriculture, we need a large number of middle-level and senior agronomists and technical as well as management personnel. In the meantime, we should extensively enhance the scientific and cultural level of the broad masses of peasants. At present, primary school education in rural areas has not yet been popularized. According to statistics, the number of illiterate and partly illiterate persons aged over 12 accounts for 23.5 percent of the population of the whole country. These persons mainly live in the rural areas. In 1982, only 66.2 percent of the graduates of primary schools could enter junior middle schools and only 32.3 percent of the graduates of junior middle schools could enter various kinds of senior middle schools. If such situation remains unchanged, it will be impossible for us to accomplish various tasks of agricultural modernization in the next decades. Since the

extensive implementation of the responsibility system of linking remuneration to output in the rural areas and the occurrence of a number of specialized (key) peasant households in particular, the broad masses of peasants are increasingly eager to master scientific and cultural knowledge. They have demanded urgently that rural education be developed more rapidly.

Third, in industrial production, there is an acute contradiction between the enhancement of economic results and the scientific and technical level of workers and technical personnel. To put all economic work onto the path of enhancing economic results, it is a matter of utmost importance to raise the scientific, cultural, and management level of the broad masses of workers and staff members. According to a survey made in 1979 of 20 million workers, 80 percent of them had an educational level below junior middle school. In addition, according to another survey made of 16 million workers in 23 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, 71 percent of them had attained the numbers 1 to 3 technical grades. Over the past few years, due to the fact that we have vigorously grasped workers' education, the situation has been improved considerably. However, basic contradictions have not yet been solved. If we fail to enhance substantially and effectively the vocational level of the broad masses of workers, technicians, and management personnel, it will be comparatively difficult to vigorously develop our economy.

Fourth, the existing state of affairs of the cadre ranks does not suit the needs of the situation. The 12th CPC Congress has stressed that we should make the cadre ranks revolutionized, professional, younger, and more educated. However, the present situation is that a fairly large number of cadres lack cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge and systematic vocational training. A few of them have acquired advanced knowledge of science, technology, and management. If we fail to make great efforts to change the present situation, it will be difficult for us to shoulder the important task of socialist construction.

Furthermore, we should also realize that the 10 years of internal disorder have confused people's criterion for testing what is right and wrong, what is good and bad, and what is beautiful and ugly. Apart from that, bourgeois ideology of foreign countries has exercised its influence over us. All this has affected adversely our spiritual life and the general mood of society. In particular, our youngsters have been poisoned severely. Such a state of affairs has conflicted to an acute degree with the building of socialist civilization. Various kinds of schools at all levels are an important front of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. It is their unshirkable duty to provide students with ideological and political education. They should exert more efforts to provide students with education on patriotism, ideals, morals, and discipline. Only thus can we train socialist new people who are sound morally, intellectually, and physically.

As far as strategic planning is concerned, we should give priority to education in order to promote our economic construction. The 12th CPC Congress has decided that in order to realize our objective for the next two decades, we must take the following two steps in our strategic planning:

In the first decade, aim mainly at laying a solid foundation, accumulating strength, and creating the necessary conditions; and in the second, usher in a new period of vigorous economic development. The so-called laying a solid foundation and creating the necessary conditions mainly means that we must exploit intellectual resources, make preparations for training qualified personnel, and accumulate sufficient human resources with a higher cultural, scientific, and technological level. Without qualified personnel, it is impossible for us to carry out modernization of our country as an independent nation, even if we have sufficient funds, are rich in material resources, and can import advanced technology and facilities from foreign countries. The arrangements for the educational undertaking should be made in accordance with the two strategic steps mentioned above. "It takes 10 years to grow trees, but 100 to rear people." [as published] It takes a longer period of time to complete the work of training qualified personnel. If we fail to take the first step, the training of a large number of qualified laborers and talented personnel who are both Red and expert will not be guaranteed when we are taking the second step. If we make timely preparations to grasp education, we will train talented personnel earlier. If we are dilatory in doing the work, we will lose the opportunity, and the four modernizations will be affected or face the danger of coming to nothing. While working out plans, preparing work, and making arrangements with regard to leading force and finance, all localities and departments should proceed from a long-term point of view and from the idea of giving priority to education and putting education in a strategic position.

We Should Implement Conscientiously the Guidelines of Reforms and Bring the Strategically Important Role of Education Into Full Play

In recent years, the educational front has done a lot of work and has achieved very great results in implementing the guidelines of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving. However, the long-existing state of affairs of education not suiting the needs of socialist construction and there being an imbalance in the proportional relations in educational structures has not yet been completely changed. There are still a number of defects and mistakes in the leadership system, administration, personnel system, teaching contents and methods, and so forth. If we fail to solve these problems, we will not be able to bring the strategically important role of education into full play.

The CPC Central Committee has formulated systematic guidelines in order to carry out reforms in a resolute and orderly way. While implementing such guidelines, the educational front should coordinate various relations so that the development of various kinds of education at all levels will further accord with objective law. We should proceed from the practical reality and educational characteristics in our country in order to carry out reforms. Education belongs to the building of spiritual civilization. It is different from the building of material civilization carried out in the field of industrial and agricultural production. Reforms in the rural areas and factories have blazed a path for the reforms carried out in various quarters, and a number of beneficial experiences have been accumulated.

While carrying out educational reforms, we should use their experiences for reference, but we should not copy them mechanically. Educational reforms should be beneficial to promoting the building of socialist spiritual civilization, comprehensively implementing the party's educational guidelines, arousing the enthusiasm of all teaching and administrative staff and students, training more and better talented personnel for socialism, and achieving more results in scientific research. Through reforms, we will be able to establish a more rational socialist educational system with Chinese characteristics.

We should readjust irrational inner structures of education. Higher education should strengthen the work for predicting the needs for qualified personnel so that its training work will meet the demands of construction. It should readjust the arrangements of specialties by offering more courses in arts, law, economics, finance, and other subjects which are "badly needed." It should follow various kinds of schools systems and adopt various methods of conducting courses. We should set up more short-term training schools and vocational universities, open up a route for training more qualified personnel for rural areas, and recruit more students from the rural and mountain areas and, after graduation, send them back to areas where they came from. In the meantime, we should strengthen teacher-training education at various levels and do well in training more teachers for various kinds of schools at all levels. We should continue to carry out the reforms of the structures of secondary school education, develop secondary training schools, increase the proportion of vocational and agricultural secondary schools, and so forth.

While promoting educational reforms, educational departments and institutions of higher learning at various levels should carry out their structural reforms and make their leading bodies at various levels revolutionized, younger, more educated, and professional. They should also streamline the administrative structures and implement the responsibility system. The decisionmaking power of localities and schools should be properly expanded in order to enhance working efficiency. We should further implement policies toward intellectuals and fully arouse the enthusiasm of teachers and cadres. We should reform the personnel system and encourage a rational flow of teaching and scientific research personnel under guided plans. This will be beneficial to tapping their potentials. We should reform the systems of recruiting students and assigning jobs for graduates. We should educate graduates so that they accept the jobs that the state has assigned to them and make contributions to the four modernizations. Apart from that, we should reform the contents, materials, and methods of teaching and further enhance teaching quality.

Making education universal is an important prerequisite for the building of material and spiritual civilization. To develop the educational undertaking, we should start with primary school education. We should do a lot of work in order to make education universal, including the work of establishing correct guiding ideology, working out plans for development, training teacher corps, building more schoolhouses, providing more facilities, and so forth. We should truly strengthen leadership and adopt measures to

ensure that we will be able to popularize primary school education throughout the country by 1990, except for a small number of mountain and sparsely populated regions.

While readjusting and reforming the educational undertaking, we should truly understand the dialectical relations between education and economy to ensure that intellectual investment will account for a rational proportion in financial expenditure. The fact that education should be in accord with the development of socialist economic construction has implied two things. On the one hand, education should be based on economic development and is restricted by economic level. On the other hand, we will be able to train laborers and various specialized personnel through education. This will stimulate the expansion of productive force, enhance labor productivity, and greatly promote economic development. These two factors are inter-dependent and mutually conditioning.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have attached importance to educational work. Although there are still many difficulties in state finance, educational funds have increased gradually. However, just as Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out, our educational funds are still insufficient. They will be increased gradually as our economy continues to develop. While working out plans, various localities and departments take into account the financial strength of the state and localities. In the meantime, they should also think highly of the role of education in promoting economic development. They should do their best to increase educational funds so that educational investment will attain rational and proper proportions in the national economy and financial expenditure plans.

The Key Lies in Leaders' Strategic Foresight

In his article "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that while studying problems of strategy, "a principle we should follow is that we should center our attention on the links that have a bearing on the situation as a whole." The CPC Central Committee has regarded education as a strategic key link in economic development on the basis of proceeding from the overall situation of socialist construction and drawing on both domestic and foreign experiences. Education has now been placed in an important position, which has a bearing on the situation as a whole. It is very important to correctly understand and handle this issue. An area, a department, or a school might be a part of the entire country, but it might also be a big or small entirety itself. As a leader, one should take into account various parts in an entirety and the relations between the part and the whole.

As a leader who is fully responsible for an overall work in a province, city, region, or county, when he is shouldering a general task of exercising leadership over socialist construction, he should truly put education in a strategically important position. He should continue to overcome erroneous ideas which set economy against education and the wrong views that education can be effectively run only after production has been promoted fully. Some

people think that education is not indispensable and that it only occupies a "subordinate position." Some other people have held that "it is only after we have developed industry, agriculture, finance, and trade fully that we can put forth efforts to run cultural and educational undertakings" and that education is a "welfare service," "consumers' service," and so forth. All these erroneous ideas should be corrected.

Leaders in the departments of industry, agriculture, commerce, finance, economy, military, and others should also view the relations between education and their departments for an overall point of view. These departments and the educational front are interdependent, mutually coordinated, and interrelated. Various departments should rely on the educational department to train various kinds of talented personnel for them. The work of various kinds of schools at all levels needs the support of these departments because these schools want some part-time teachers and places for students to take practical courses. Various vocational departments have also shouldered the task of running education. Through running various kinds of schools, they will enhance the scientific and cultural level of workers and staff members. Leaders of all departments should also show concern for the education and healthy growth of the children of workers and staff members. It is wrong for them to regard education as "something which has nothing to do with them" or an added burden. It is equally wrong to pay attention to production and vocational work alone, disregarding the cultural and technical study of workers and staff members.

Comrades working on the educational front should particularly view their work from an overall situation of socialist construction. They should understand profoundly the strategic importance of education as an essential component part of the building of socialist spiritual civilization and its role in economic development. This has demanded that they widen their field of vision and review and consider their own work from an overall situation and in the interest of the general task and strategic aims of the party. They should not limit their work to their own field alone and run education behind a closed door. To effectively bring the strategically important role of education into full play, comrades of the educational departments should get themselves moving and go into society to profoundly understand the demands on education of various aspects of socialist construction. They should understand new situations, study new problems, and open a new situation.

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INTELLECTUALS AS SEEN IN LITERATURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 24-27

[Article by Yan Gang [7051 4854]]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang in "Speech at the Forum on Play Writing" said: "For a long time we have incorrectly judged the intellectuals. We mis-judged this segment of the working people, distorted their image, called them the 'stinking ninth category,' and caused our mental workers to suffer an injustice." This bitter but frank summing up of the "leftist" mistakes on the question regarding intellectuals is very touching.

The Chinese revolution would not have been won without the intellectuals. As far back as 1939, Comrade Mao Zedong had correctly put forth the slogan of "recruit large numbers of intellectuals." They are all the more indispensable when the revolution has entered into the stage of socialist construction, but instead, the intellectuals have been rejected. From being the target of "unity, education, and reform," they have been treated as people to be criticized and changed. It appears that the higher the advance of socialism, the lower the position of the Chinese intellectuals. In the "Great Cultural Revolution" the intellectuals were considered "targets" of the revolution. Writers were crushed, and fetters were imposed on literature.

Literature was placed in the dock, and either accused of "antiparty, anti-socialism, and anti-Mao Zedong Thought" or "big, alien, ancient, feudalistic, bourgeois, and revisionist." It would be blamed either for "glorifying the intellectuals," or "vilifying the workers, peasants, and soldiers." Such works concerning intellectuals as "Between Husband and Wife" and "The Song of the Youth," were all branded as "poisonous weeds."

The intellectuals, who are actually part of the working class, have instead become bourgeois intellectuals. The intellectuals who are actually qualified to serve as positive images and masters of literary work have instead played supporting roles, and are entitled only to be the foils or even the negative examples of the workers and peasants, objects of derision. The intellectuals, who have no position in politics, naturally have no position in literature.

This is an extremely great misfortune!

The "Tiananmen Poems" broke through the dark cloud. These poems were written by intellectuals as well as workers and soldiers. They inspired awe by upholding justice and manifested the heroic spirit of masters of the country. Workers, peasants, and soldiers were among the heroes of "April 5," but there were also many intellectuals. The novelettes "Wish You Had Heard This Song" and "A Dream on the Strong" by Comrade Li Tuo and Comrade Zong Pu, published in 1978, gave a true and touching presentation of the historical achievements of intellectuals in the "Tiananmen incident" and the "Tiananmen Poems" movement. All these have explained that, after becoming conscious of their own position in history, the Chinese intellectuals have become aware of their profound and lasting influence on the political life of the state as well as on literary creation.

After the overthrow of the "gang of four" in October 1976, the short story "The Class Teacher," by Comrade Liu Xinwu, and "Goldbach Conjecture," a report by Comrade Xu Chi, appeared in 1977 and 1978. The publication of these two works marked another emancipation of literature. At the same time, they represented another bold attempt of Chinese intellectuals to find their position in realistic literature. This bold attempt implied risks, for the standpoint of "two whatevers" was hanging like two new ropes over the heads of the people. However, these two works were greatly liked by the masses. The appeal for "rescuing the children" in "The Class Master" was but a variation on the themes of "rescuing knowledge," "rescuing culture," and "rescuing China." The spontaneous appeal made by the class master Zhang Junshi to the group of young intellectuals, including Xie Huimin standing before him, expressed the concern of the Chinese intellectuals at that time, and their sense of historical responsibility to serve the country and to make the country strong. "Goldbach Conjecture" pays tribute to the scientist Chen Jingrun, who was accused of being a "white expert." It presents his case directly but also skillfully reveals his intention, so that prejudices are overshadowed and knowledge shines with luster to make the intellectuals proud and elated. The "Goldbach Conjecture," which spares no efforts to "glorify" the intellectuals, is a paean to the intellectuals at the beginning of the new era, and possesses the vigorous spirit of the time.

The All-China Science Congress in the spring of 1978 gave a push to presenting intellectuals in literature. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his speech at the opening of the congress, pointed out: "In our advance on the modernization of science and technology, we must have an enormous and powerful army of the working class which is both Red and expert. We must have large numbers of first-rate scientists, engineers, and technical experts of world level. The building of this contingent is a formidable task placed before us." The encouragement and support given by the party to the scientists, and the great expectations placed by the party on the intellectuals, increased the courage of the writers to further "glorify" the intellectuals. In this effort to bring order out of chaos, the writers of reportage literature displayed fiery zeal, and went deep into reality to gather material, and their array was quite impressive. Soon afterward, reportage literature

saluting and praising scientists became fashionable for a time in the literary circles. People are not likely to forget the names of such well-known works as "The Tree of Life Is Always Green" (by Xu Chi), "An Unusual Letter" (by Ko Yan), and "Love of Wild Goose" (by Wang Zongying).

A distinguishing feature of these reportage literary works is that they have without exception boldly regarded the scientists, who are excellent elements among the intellectuals, as a component of the working class, the masters of the nation, and the principal characters in their work. They enthusiastically commended their scientific achievements as well as patriotism, warmly praised their strength of character as well as romantic charm of working uncomplainingly and assiduously, despite privations and misfortunes, and successfully portrayed their highly individual artistic images. These reportage literary works, which excel in artistic quality and enjoy a high reputation in the literary world by focusing praise on the intellectuals, have paved the way for those who follow, and enabled such works to keep on spreading up to the present. Comrade Ko Yan's "In Pursuit of Beauty," published in 1980, described the unfortunate experience and unremitting pursuit of Han Meilin. Comrade Liyu's "Infatuation," published in the same year, used the circumstances as well as psychology of Yuan Yuansheng to paint the picture of the soul of a Chinese intellectual, and although the approach was different from "In Pursuit of Beauty," the plot was remarkably similar. Since 1979, Chen Zufen has distinguished herself in reportage literature, and intellectuals are the targets for her eulogization. Her "Motherland Above All," and "China-Brand Intellectuals," published in 1981, which portrayed the high resolve of the intellectual heroes, were widely applauded. In her mind, the intellectuals, like the workers and peasants, are pillars of the nation. "Mother may sometimes wrongly judge her children; still we cannot help loving our mother." Only those who place the motherland above all can be China-brand intellectuals! The reportage literature work "Spreading the Flame of Lu Xun's Spirit," published in 1981, warmly praised the various experts who quietly immersed themselves in the work of annotating the new edition of "Collected Works of Lu Xun." It praised a colony of intellectuals as well as most valuable "Lu Xun's spirit" of the Chinese intellectuals. Comrade Huang Zongying's "Tangerine" was a sequel to "Love of Wild Goose." It views the lot of the intellectuals in our country from another important aspect. Its profundity causes people to feel uneasy in the midst of rejoicing, and written last year, it is very close to us.

In the effort to win (allow me to use "to win," because this is not "to restore") the position in literature for the intellectuals, reportage literature has rendered outstanding contributions from the "Goldbach Conjecture" to the arrival of the All-China Science Congress.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the political status of the intellectuals in literature has further improved, and the number of works based on intellectuals have greatly increased. Besides such reportage literary works as "Love of Wild Goose" and "In Pursuit of Beauty" published during this period, many other works, including Comrade Jieying's short story "Memorial Service for the Luofushan Tragedy" and

Comrade Mu Guozheng's short story "Our Family Cook," were also published in 1979. These works recounted the crimes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," described the great hardships and sufferings of the intellectuals during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and expressed their state of depression caused by their eagerness to serve the country but their inability to do so. The publication of these works at that time played a positive role in redressing the unjust, false, and wrong cases against the intellectuals, and in implementing the policy toward intellectuals. Although these works mercilessly exposed the "leftist" mistakes and the serious effect they had on the intellectuals, and loudly expressed the grievance and injustice of the intellectuals, but the main theme of these works was still patriotism and resolute dedication. Among the works published in 1979 portraying the tragic lot of our upright and patriotic intellectuals in the "Great Cultural Revolution," none aroused such strong sympathy among the people than Comrade Feng Jicai's novelette "Oh!" This ingeniously conceived comic tragedy was published in the later part of 1979. The implication of "Oh!" is subtle. One cannot help laughing on reading it, but after laughing, one will shed a sympathetic tear, and eventually, will always remember it in retrospection.

In the early part of 1980, Comrade Chen Rong's famous novelette "When One Enters Middle Age" was published, and for a time, it became a best seller. As a result of the skill of the writer in portraying the character, this novelette is imbued with an almost irresistible artistic force, and the name of its heroine, Lu Wenting, has become a byword. It is different from other, previous works portraying the intellectuals, in that it neither stresses the plight of the intellectuals in the "Great Cultural Revolution" nor cheaply praises the emancipation of the intellectuals after the overthrow of the "gang of four." Proceeding from actual life, "When One Enters Middle Age" depicts reality and the present. It depicts present-day reality when the intellectuals are shouldering an excessively heavy burden but are repaid with meager salaries and poor living conditions. It depicts the important role of the intellectuals in the four modernizations as well as their being politically despised. All these are so contradictory and yet so real, therefore it has struck a sympathetic chord among millions of intellectuals. Moreover, "When One Enters Middle Age" not only pays special attention to typical examples, but it also bears in mind the overall situation, and its main theme is still warm love for the socialist motherland and meticulous devotion to the medical profession. Lu Wenting is poor and dignified, and she has no desire to leave the country. She has the lofty spirit of dedication and does not attract attention. She "faces the morning sun and the chilling wind, and forges ahead." Although there are periods of "chilling wind," there are at the same time periods of "morning sun," and she does not retreat but "forges ahead." "When One Enters Middle Age" has experienced some difficulties, and has also been fairly criticized (no literary work can be perfect), but like Lu Wenting, it still "forges ahead" deep into the hearts of the people, enriching their minds.

Comrade Zhang Xianling's short story "Flesh and Soul" was also published in 1980. The reason this short story has become a "paean to patriotism" because making the choice of whether or not to leave the country has kindled in the

hero Xu Lingjun a sincere love for the motherland and the people. This sincere love eventually develops into an infatuation. The style of this story is sad but majestic, and very touching. "Three Lives Stone" by Zong Pu was published slightly later. This novel, which specializes in describing the images of intellectuals, is profound and lyrical. It is like a flash of sunlight in the depressing courtyard, so that people will not be denied a glimpse of the bright light under the dark clouds of the "Cultural Revolution." Naturally, this light was very weak. Zong Pu is a well-educated writer who has also personally experienced frustration. The characters under her pen are mostly educated women intellectuals. Generally speaking, their tragic experiences in marriage have left spiritual wounds; however, their greatest suffering is political misfortune. They are aloof and obstinate, prefer not to seek fame and fortune, and will absolutely not wallow in the mire with others. Therefore, they are subjected to heavy pressure. They bear the sufferings in their hearts, and quietly wait for their lot to change.

The criticism of "Unrequited Love" in 1981 has produced widespread repercussions. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has affirmed that it "should be" criticized. "Unrequited Love" is a film with an intellectual as its hero. The discussion and criticism of "Unrequited Love" have a direct bearing on literary works portraying intellectuals. The discussion and criticism this time have clarified certain ideological confusion about literary creation and led to the convocation of an important conference. This symposium on problems on the ideological front has further defined for literature and art the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism. Since then, numerous works have appeared with singing praises of the bright side as the main theme. This reflection of the new achievements of the four modernizations in literary works is gratifying. There are all kinds of works probing into the way of life. Themes dealing with the problems of youth and morality have notably increased, and these naturally also include the problems of intellectuals.

Among the works probing into the way of life of intellectuals, the subject of Comrade Wang Anhuai's middle-length novel "Fate Symphony," published in 1982, is unique. Its hero is a man who suffered grossly under the mistakes of the "leftist" line but has not been able to reconcile himself to society since the overthrow of the "gang of four," and becomes a new loner. The meaning of the novel is clear: Although the intellectuals have become a part of the working class, they must continuously and unhesitatingly integrate themselves anew with the masses. This is a question the present-day intellectuals cannot ignore. Here, we must also mention Comrade Zhang Xingxin's middle-length novel "On the Same Horizon," and Comrade Luyao's middle-length novel "Human Life" published in the last 2 years. "On the Same Horizon" probes deeply into the soul of contemporary youth and skillfully portrays the features as well as the mentality of some of the young intellectuals. However, as a friend of the young intellectuals, the writer reveals her weakness when giving friendly admonition to the young intellectuals. Where has she muffed? What does she lack? What she lacks is the warmth of inner feelings as well as faith in life found in outstanding works on the same subject. The CPC Central Committee has long ago been

determined to implement thoroughly its policy toward intellectuals, and the situation has greatly improved. However, the environment of the intellectuals, as well as the intellectuals themselves, or how the intellectuals can better adapt themselves to their environment, still present a problem, and this requires further understanding and efforts. The novel "Human Life" reflects this kind of adaptability as well as lack of adaptability, this clear but at the same time contradictory sentiment and mentality. "Human Life" also searches for the way of life of the intellectuals, but it is neither so simplified and idealized as some of the works nor as mystical and indifferent to life as "On the Same Horizon." Gao Jialin is Gao Jialin, and he is neither Baoer Kechajin [0202 1422 2688 1390 6835] nor Yulian Sohéier [0060 6647 4792 7815 1422]. He can become anew intellectual of 20th-century China in the 1980's, but the road will not be even.

As mentioned above, the present-day intellectuals have the problem of adaptability as well as lack of adaptability to their environment. They have suffered humiliations as well as receiving great honors. Among them are such people as Sun Yefang and Chen Jingrun as well as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu...but the policy toward intellectuals has still not been earnestly implemented in some of the units, and some outstanding "sensible people" have also met with reproach. In 1983, the adaptation of the novel "When One Enters Middle Age" of early 1980 into a film is just as popular and touching as in former years. What is the reason for this? Wherein lies the successful experience of "When One Enters Middle Age"? What new efforts will be made by the writers in the way of truthfully and profoundly reflecting the conditions and future of the intellectuals? All these provide much food for thought.

The intellectuals have already become a part of the working class, and failure to understand this point will seriously hamper the building of our material civilization as well as spiritual civilization. However, on this question, just as Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report "The Radiance of the Great Marxist Principle Illuminates Our Advance" pointed out: "For a long time our understanding has been inadequate, and for many years we have been tied down by some erroneous concepts divorced from Marxism. Therefore, how to deal correctly with the question of knowledge and the intellectuals has now become a major as well as pressing problem in integrating the universal principle of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization. This is also the major as well as pressing problem facing the writers." Everything boils down to this. The world needs good poetry, and outstanding works will emerge as the times require. This is bound to happen.

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PATRIOTISM AND THE SPIRIT OF DEDICATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 28-29

[Article by Li Wenhai [2621 2429 3189]]

[Text] Shortly after the abortive reform movement of 1898, Liang Qichao, the man who vowed to carry out reforms for the purpose of "saving the nation from extinction," said the following:

"At present, so-called patriots should do the very things beneficial to the country, even at the expense of their own lives and good names. Such people call themselves patriots. However, they value their lives and good names too. If they cannot have all the three things at the same time, they prefer to abandon their country but keep their lives and good names; if they cannot even have two things at the same time, they will choose to live at the expense of their good names. As far as I can see, the so-called patriots are just like that!" ("Memoirs of the Coup d'Etat of 1898," Vol 3)

At that time, both the members of the westernization group, such as Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong, and the reformists, such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, called themselves "patriots" in addition to advocating "reforms." Some people thought that the westernization group and the reformists differed in that the former advocated "moderate" changes while the latter advocated "radical" changes. Liang Qichao had demolished such an argument and emphatically pointed out that the difference lay in the question of whether they have first priority to the interests of the country or to personal interests. In effect, Liang Qichao had put forward an important principle: The way one handles the relationship between one's love for one's country and one's love for one's life and good name is the touchstone for distinguishing true patriotism from false.

In the history of modern China, there have been large numbers of noble-minded people with lofty ideas: some were commanders and fighters who died in battlefields in national wars against foreign aggression; some were advocates of reforms who bravely explored the road of wealth and power; some were revolutionary martyrs who criticized the old feudal order by staging armed uprisings; some were scholars who worked their hearts out in creating and disseminating advanced scientific and cultural knowledge.

Their achievements in struggle and historical contributions may not be the same, but they had one thing in common, and that is, all of them had an obstinate and sincere spirit of dedication toward their motherland and nation. They unconditionally loved their country and they did not subordinate their love for their country to their love for their lives and good names. On the contrary, they gave all they had, including their precious lives, to their great motherland, which was in distress.

They did have the chance and the right qualifications to seek personal fame and gain. Talking about Kang Youwei, his teacher, Liang Qichao, said: As far as his talent and learning is concerned, if he "vulgarized his learning in order to pander to popular taste," it would not be difficult for him to make rapid advances in a feudal official career and to enjoy high prestige, wealth, and power. However, he was not fettered by wealth and fame and he resolutely strived for the progress of the country by "combating society and the trend of the times." He "worked with perseverance and did not hold back in the slightest because of the grave danger and insults." ("Biography of Kang Youwei") Kang Youwei's choice had exhibited a patriot's courage and his noble spirit of regarding wealth as drifting clouds and rugged and rough roads as easy paths.

There were indeed things to which they were sentimentally attached. On the eve of the Huanghuagang uprising, Fang Shengdong, a noted member of Tong Meng Hui (The Chinese Revolutionary League), wrote his father a farewell letter in which he expressed with deep emotion his concern for his family and fervently yet calmly explained the need to lay down his life for his country. In his letter, he said: "If a man fails in his life to make contributions to strengthening his country and to the well-being of his fellow compatriots, he will be as happy as if he had actually made them if he has strived to do so. To die for the motherland is our duty. At present, I am 26 and I know my duty to the family. However, I think if I cannot protect the country, I will not be able to protect myself and my family. Even if we are concerned with nothing other than ourselves and our families, it is still necessary to seek survival by risking our lives." He repeatedly asked his father "to pay close attention to national affairs and not to be sorry about your son's death." ("Biography of Fang Shengdong") During the uprising, he died a heroic death as expected. On the eve of the uprising, Lin Juemin, another revolutionary who died with Fang Shengdong, said in his last letter to his wife: "I love you very much. However, the very idea of loving you has given me the courage to die. Since the day we met, I always wish all the lovers in the world became men and wives. However, there is bloodshed everywhere and officials as fierce as wolves and hounds crowd the streets. Few people manage to lead a happy life!" "With my love for you, I help the people of the world love their loved ones. That is why I have the courage to die first and leave you behind." ("Biography of Lin Juemin") Patriotic national heroes are not people without feelings. They have ardent love for their fathers, mothers, wives, and children. However, confronted with the contradiction between their love for their motherland and their love for themselves, they are willing to suffer the agony of being forever separated from their loved ones. In this way, they subordinate their love for their families to their love for their nation and country and merge the two into one.

In old China, it was "guilty" to be patriotic because if one loved one's country, one could not but wage a life-and-death struggle against the imperialist and feudal forces which ruled China and had put it in a hopeless situation. Thus, if one loved one's country, one had to be prepared for the fierce attacks mounted by the reactionary forces and risk decapitation and imprisonment. At that time, no patriot would expect anything in return for their efforts to revitalize the country. They knew very well that they would not live to see the day their motherland became a prosperous, powerful, and independent country. However, they firmly believed that their efforts had made the early arrival of this day possible. During the 1911 Revolution, Xiong Chengji, a revolutionary under whose leadership the Anqing uprising was staged, was arrested by the Qing government. He wrote the following passage in prison: "If I die one day earlier, our tree of freedom can be sprinkled with fresh blood one day earlier; if it is sprinkled with blood one day earlier, it will become luxuriant and its flowers will bloom one day earlier." ("Statement by Martyr Xiong") These short sentences have vividly reflected the breadth of vision of a patriot.

This kind of patriotism, which is permeated with the spirit of dedication, must not be confused with false patriotism. "Where the love for one's country, the love for one's good name, and the love for oneself cannot coexist, the false patriot will keep their love for his good names and himself at the expense of the love for his country." Patriotism is a lofty sentiment or idea incompatible with the mentality of sordid merchants. If we install in our hearts egoistic balances with which we always measure whether the rewards given by the state are equivalent to our contribution to the motherland or if we go as far as to raise complaints such as "I love the motherland, but does the motherland love me," we have blasphemed patriotism and we should feel shame before the patriots in history.

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EXPLANATIONS OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT NOTIONS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 30-35

[Article in the "Cadre Theory Study" column by the RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; passages within slantlines published in bold-face]

[Text] IV. On the Organizational Line

15. /"The realization of the ideological line and political line should be ensured by the organizational line."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 175)

(By Wu Hong [0702 4540])

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed that we have already determined the political line of the party at the present stage, and set up, or rather, reaffirmed the ideological line for the party. It is necessary to further solve the problem of the organizational line; otherwise, there will be no reliable guarantee for the implementation of the political line.

The organizational line of the party includes such things as the organizational principle, the organizational system, the cadre line, the cadre policy and so on. Only when there is a correct organizational line, will the party be able to organize the forces of the whole party, operating harmoniously and effectively like a machine, to correctly handle the contradictions and struggles inside the party, safeguard democratic centralism and the party's discipline, to have unity, unification, and consolidation of the party, and to cultivate a contingent of cadres with ability and political integrity who will strive to exercise the correct political line, so that the party's cause may not be short of successors and will be prosperous. In the new historical stage, the core of the party's organizational line is to realize the requirements for the contingent of cadres of being revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and moreprofessionally competent.

The problem of organizational line that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed solving since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee chiefly refers to the solving of the problem of cadres, namely, solving the problem of what kind of people should implement and exercise the party's ideological line and political line. The following three points may help deepen the understanding of the importance of the problem.

First, if the party's ideological line and political line are to be implemented, it is necessary to have a large number of cadres who resolutely support the party's ideological and political line. Facts have proved that it makes a world of difference in the results of the implementation of the party's ideological and political lines whether they are implemented by cadres who are for or against them, or by middle-of-the-roaders. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, great changes have taken place in the features of many districts and units; those originally poor have become well-off, and those originally backward have become advanced. The fundamental cause is precisely that the members of the leading bodies of these districts or units resolutely support the various principles and policies of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and have adopted measures to implement them, in connection with the actual conditions of their own districts or units. For instance, Liaocheng Prefecture of Shandong Province was originally comparatively poor and backward; it was listed as one of the top 10 poverty-stricken areas of the whole nation. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the leading cadres of this prefecture have dispelled "leftist" ideological influences, and have been bold in reforming the economic management system which was not suitable to the development of productive force, and in reforming the administrative form of labor. They have put into practice the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. The result is that this place has greatly changed its appearance in a short span of 4 years. Gross output value of agricultural production grew to 1.83 billion yuan in 1982 from 810 million yuan in 1978, more than doubling the 1978 figure. The average per capita income of the prefecture through distribution was 251 yuan, 540 percent rise from 1978. Such instances are many in the whole nation. But of course, there are negative examples, too. For instance, during the party congress called by Feixiang County, Hebei Province in January 1982, a small number of people adopted various illegal means to sabotage the democratic election, and attacked and elbowed out the leading comrade of the county CPC committee who has persisted in the party's line and achieved remarkable results in his work, thus creating a grave political incident. Most of the people who started the trouble were people who had serious problems during the "Cultural Revolution." They had strong factional mentality and records of violating law and discipline. They followed the "Cultural Revolution" tricks of sabotaging the party's organization and discipline in their activities, with the aim of putting in power someone who would help them pursue personal gain. This incident was promptly discovered and handled by the party committee at a higher level, and the attempt of those people failed. If those people should sneak into the leading body, it would obviously be impossible for them to lead the masses in implementing the ideological and political lines

determined by the third plenary session of the CPC Central Committee. There are leading bodies in some areas and units that have not dispelled the long-standing serious influences of "leftist" errors. Their mentality is still in a state of being confined; even if they do not oppose the line adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they will not be able to implement well the party's principles and policies. Take the implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals. The Central Committee has repeatedly issued orders and instructions, stressing that it is necessary to bring into full play the important role of intellectuals in the four modernizations, and improve their working and living conditions in a down-to-earth manner. Nonetheless, with much delay in some units, this policy is still not implemented simply because the leading cadres have failed to straighten out their thinking. The three examples mentioned above have fully illustrated the importance of solving the problem of the organizational line.

Second, the essence of the party's political line is to pursue the four modernizations. To realize the four modernizations, we are in urgent need of a number of cadres in the prime of life with specialized professional knowledge. Without a number of such cadres, the four modernizations will come to naught. There are 21 million cadres in our country at present; they are valuable wealth of the party and the state. The problem is that the structure of cadres has been irrational; cadres possessing professional knowledge and ability are too few in number. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out: "The grave problem facing our state today is not whether the line and principle of the four modernizations is correct, but the lack of a large number of talented people to realize the line and principle. The reason is simple enough, anything is achieved by men; without a large number of talented people our cause will come to naught." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 193; in the following, quotations from the same book will only be given the page number) Since the founding of the PRC, we have for a long time neglected the problem of having professional competence and better education among the cadres, with the result that the contingent of cadres fails to meet the objective requirements of the four modernizations. Professional knowledge is needed in every item of work, in every trade and profession in the four modernizations, moreover, updated knowledge should be incessantly acquired. For years, the figures of waste and loss in economic construction resulting from the lack of professional knowledge among cadres have been shocking. Take a tractor plant. In the more than 10 years since the preparations for its founding in 1969, the plant has many times changed its designs because of poor planning. Every time there was a change, some special equipment would fall into disuse. Up till early 1980, stockpiled equipment alone amounted to over 9 million yuan. This illustrates that the lack of professional knowledge on the part of cadres will adversely affect the vital cause of modernization; it has already done so to quite an extent so far. If this problem remains unsolved, the four modernizations will be without prospect.

Third, the most important thing is to select successors, in solving the problem of the organizational line. Only by selecting as successors those who genuinely persist in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and are strong

in party spirit will the leadership at various levels be able to ensure continuity and stability in the implementation of the correct ideological and political line. What merits our special attention is that people who rose to power by means of rebellion, people with serious factional mentality, smash-and-grabbers, those who oppose the party's line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and those who violate law and discipline of all descriptions should never be allowed into the leading bodies as successors. If people like this become successors, it will be impossible for them to implement the party's ideological and political lines, moreover, they will bring disaster to our party and state. Did not Wang Hongwen say in 1975 that he would wait and see what would happen after 10 years? Therefore, in sincere words and earnest wishes, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "If we do not solve this problem properly in 3 years, we do not know what will happen 10 years later. We should worry about the nation, the people, and the party! We should see that this is a problem of a basic nature. We do have a correct ideological line and a correct political line; however, if the problem of organization is not properly solved, there is no guarantee for the implementation of the correct political line; then I do not know what we are going to say to the party and the people." (pp 194-195) Comrade Deng Xiaoping stands high and sees far; starting from the basic interests of the people, from the whole situation of the party and the state, he has repeatedly stressed in many of his speeches that it is extremely important to solve the problem of the organizational line and that to do well in selecting the successors is the primary work of old cadres.

16. /"In solving the problem of the organizational line, the biggest, at the same time, the most difficult and most pressing problem is to do well in selecting the successors."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 177)

(By Zhou Yong [2513 8673])

We are facing many problems that have to be solved in implementing the party's organizational line; but comparatively, the biggest problem is the selection of successors.

Judging by the past experiences and lessons of our party, whether successors are properly selected has an extremely important bearing on the future of the party and the state. During the "Cultural Revolution," the party and state met with a great disaster owing to the fact that some people who had risen to power by rebellion in following Lin Biao and the "gang of four," people with serious factional mentality, and smash-and-grabbers, were assigned to leading posts at various levels, in particular, such conspirators and careerists as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were permitted to sneak into the leading core of the party Central Committee. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, while reestablishing the correct ideological line and political line, our party has carried out the work of readjusting, restructuring, and consolidating the leading bodies at various levels step by step, enabling the leadership of party and state organizations at various levels to be basically in the hands of cadres who are loyal to the party and the people; and thus, ensuring the

implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and the vigorous development of the socialist cause. All this has illustrated that the proper selection of successors is really an extremely vital question of strategy.

In view of the historical experiences and lessons, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, Comrade Chen Yun, and other revolutionaries of the older generation have all regarded the selection of successors as a matter of first importance.

The selection of proper successors is not only extremely important but also pressing. Back in the mid-1960's, our party began to put forth the question of cultivating successors to the revolutionary cause. At that time, our party pointed out: In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the leadership of our party and state will remain in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries, and whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by Marxism-Leninism. The task was put forth, nonetheless, but before there was time to do it, the "Cultural Revolution" took place. A delay of over a dozen years has made the problem of "aging" and temporary shortage of cadres grave, and the contradiction of inadaptability to socialist modernization more and more acute. Two points are worth our special attention on this problem: First, through the "Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cultivated a number of factionalist people, who recall with nostalgia their vested interests in the past, and persist in the ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; moreover, they are good at speculation and securing personal gain. If we should fail to solve the problem of successors from top to grassroots levels, the leadership of some localities and units would be in the hands of those people in the future. Then, not only would the party's line, principles, and policies not be implemented, but once the atmosphere appears, they would come out front to start trouble again; even if it is a small number of people, they would bring great calamities to the party and the state. Second, old cadres originally in important leading posts are backbone forces who have long stood the tests, and are valuable wealth of the party. Nonetheless, they are quite advanced in age, their energy is weakening, and their health is more and more failing them in dealing with strenuous work. If we do not make haste in solving the problem of successors, and the problem of the replacement of cadres on a nationwide scale, in a few years from now, the old will no longer exist, or cannot even work, while the new fail to rise; even if they do, lacking the necessary tempering and test, they can hardly stand on their own feet. Under such circumstances, this might lead to confusion and gravely affect the process of the four modernizations. It is in giving consideration to the two points mentioned above that Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, the problem of successors "has become very pressing. In another 3 or 5 years, if we fail to solve this problem, there will be another disaster." (p 339) "We cannot delay to make the selection of successors, otherwise the building of four modernizations will be empty talk." (p 193)

Why is it a "most difficult" undertaking? Where do the difficulties lie? The point is that for one thing, it is not easy to discover young talents, for another, there is still much resistance in placing them in important leading posts. For a long time, promotion according to seniority has become a force of habit; bad old practices die hard, and it is very difficult to break them. In the past, our organizations were overstaffed. The more temples there are, the more buddhas, and the steps are all crowded to the full. Young people cannot come up. There were shortcomings in the organizational and personnel systems in the past, which are not favorable to selecting and making exceptions in the employment of young and excellent talent. Apart from these, some comrades are not good at selecting the virtuous and appointing the talented. They are apt to select those who support themselves. Genuinely eligible successors cannot be selected this way; what is more, we will come to grief. All this will cause difficulties in the selection of successors. Therefore, it is by no means an easy job to solve this problem. It is imperative to emancipate the mind, break old conventions, overcome one obstacle after another, and be bold to reform inappropriate organizational and personnel systems, and implement the cadre line of selecting the virtuous and appointing the talented, if a good job is to be done.

In solving the problem of successors, it is necessary for us to see not only the difficulties, but also the favorable conditions. First, the CPC Central Committee attaches great importance to it; Comrade Deng Xiaoping, Comrade Chen Yun, and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are determined to grasp the work as the primary task of old cadres. It is very favorable to have a large number of old comrades still living, passing on experience, giving help and setting an example. Second, at present our country already has a huge treasury of talents. According to 1982 statistics, there are about 11 million cadres aged between 36 and 55 at present; there are over 12 million cadres who joined the ranks after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan and prior to the "Cultural Revolution"; there are about 12 million comrades who have a cultural background at and above the level of high school graduate; and there are about 8.3 million technical cadres of various specialties. Since the founding of the PRC, we have trained 3.1 million university students of our own, and over 38 million graduates of high schools and secondary technical schools. At present, there are over 25 million college graduates working in units of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. It is entirely possible to select for the leading bodies at various levels people who meet the requirements of being revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent from this huge treasury of talents. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We have a correct ideological line, political line, and organizational line, so long as we work boldly and meticulously, make close investigation and study, and listen to the opinions of the masses in a broad way, we are fully confident of promoting a large number of fine young and middle-aged cadres, and of ensuring that there will be successors to our cause, with the latecomers surpassing the old-timers." (p 286)

17. /"Under the premise of persistence in the socialist road, it is necessary to make our contingent of cadres younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent, and it is necessary to ensure this by the gradual perfection of the cadre system."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 320)

(By Li Xia [2621 0007])

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Chen Yun have repeatedly stressed the realization of the requirements for the contingent of cadres to be revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent; and indicated that this is a question of strategy, and a vital question that has a bearing on the long-term interests of our party and state, requiring party organizations at all levels, in particular, senior cadres and old cadres of the party to attach great importance to it and do the work well in a down-to-earth manner.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has realized the shift in the focus of work. With the development of socialist modernization, the fact that the present condition of our contingent of cadres fails to suit the requirements of the new situation has become more and more conspicuous. This finds expression chiefly in two aspects: First, the "aging" of cadres in various degrees. According to statistics of departments in charge of economy under the State Council, before the structural reform took place last year, the average age of ministers and deputy ministers was 63.63 years. In the party and government leading bodies of the 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, the average age before the structural reform was 62.2 years; those under 50 accounted for only 15 percent of the total number. Doubtless, old cadres do have very rich and valuable experiences, nonetheless, they are not as energetic as young and middle-aged cadres, and are not quite suitable to arduous and burdensome leading work in economic construction. Second, a considerable number of cadres lack knowledge in culture and science; and the number of cadres who have undergone systematic professional training, who know about advanced science and technology and knowledge of management is still less. According to statistics, among the existing state cadres of various categories, those who graduated from universities or colleges or have a cultural level equal to graduates from universities or colleges account for only 20 percent, and in some provinces a mere 2 percent. According to the investigations of some provinces, the number of cadres who know very little about professional technology accounts for 50 percent of the whole contingent, and cadres who do not have any professional knowledge at all, and are not up to their jobs account for over 20 percent. Among the party and government leading bodies at the provincial level of the whole nation, the number of cadres who possess a cultural level of university or college standard accounted for only 20 percent before the readjustment. In recent years, over 45,000 young and middle-aged cadres under the age of 55 have been selected throughout the nation to strengthen the leading bodies above the county level. Even so, the number of cadres with a cultural level below junior middle school still accounts for 42 percent.

Such a situation is a direct outcome of "leftist" errors in the guiding ideas of the party in the past. Affected by "leftist" guiding ideas, the focus of work failed to be transferred to economic construction; moreover, political campaigns were forever on the go, as a result, the cadres lost the chance to continue their studies with a view to raising their levels of science and culture. The relation between "Red" and "expert" was not placed in good balance. For a long time, the two were placed in antagonism. Some good cadres who diligently studied their professions were often smeared as being "white and expert." And the implied meaning of "Red" was distorted. In particular, when the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique ran roughshod, laymen leading the professionals with "politics lashing at everything," was the order of the day. As a result, a considerable number of cadres were for a long time in a state of being laymen in the departments they were in charge of.

Lenin pointed out: "In order to build communism we must grasp technology and science," "for the work of administration, of organizing the state, we need people who are versed in the art of administration, who have state and business experience." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 170) Experiences at home and abroad have proved that in order to build a modernized country it is necessary to depend on science and technology. The chief hallmark of a modern enterprise is its possession of a considerably high level of science and technology. If we want to equip all the departments of the national economy with modernized science and technology, and to realize economic invigoration, it is necessary for the leaders and organizers of modernization to master knowledge of management and administration of modernized production, and gradually become talented people who are proficient in their professions, and know about modern economic management, and modern science and technology. In socialist construction, we will have to educate the people in Marxism, strengthen the building of the legal system and democracy, and reform and perfect various systems; This also requires our cadres to be well versed in the theory of Marxism and knowledge of science and culture in various fields. It can be said that without a better education, and without professional competence, those who take the lead in modernization will get nowhere.

It is based on a sober understanding of the acute contradiction between the objective requirements for modernization and the present state of our contingent of cadres that our party has put forth the demand for the contingent of cadres to be revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent as a vital and pressing issue, which is literally set down in the new party constitution.

The requirements for cadres to be revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent are an integral whole, inseparable from each other; every one of them is important and indispensable, however, what comes foremost is revolutionization. Without revolutionization, the other three requirements will not be achieved; even if they are, it will still be impossible to serve well the cause of socialist modernization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping says: "Of course, when the three conditions of being younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent

are put forth, one must first become revolutionized. Therefore, the premise is persistence in the socialist road." (p 320) This is because the modernizations we are building are socialist modernizations, and we are to build our country into a socialist power. Our ultimate aim is to realize communism. Our party and state cadres are the people who take the lead in the struggle for the realization of this aim. This has determined that the requirements for cadres to be revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent must take revolutionization and persistence in the socialist road as the premise. History has proved and will continue to prove: Only socialism will save China, only socialism will make China prosperous and powerful. Therefore, all those who hope China will become prosperous and strong should conscientiously persist in the socialist road. This is the primary criterion to judge whether a person is revolutionized. Of course, revolutionization should also include upholding the leadership of the party, the people's democratic dictatorship, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; all these are also very important, and they should be observed by cadres of various trades and professions. For leading cadres of party and state organs, there are higher requirements for them, in good knowledge of the laws governing social development, the laws of socialist revolution and construction, the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies, and using the Marxist stand, views and methods to solve problems. Only when cadres are revolutionized, will they be able to influence and educate the broad masses with the ideal and spirit of communism, forever keeping the modernizations of our country firmly along the correct socialist orientation, and will they be able to fulfill outstandingly the task of being better educated and professionally more competent, inspired by a high revolutionary ambition and a strong sense of political responsibility.

In order to realize the "four requirements" of the contingent of cadres, it is necessary to raise ideological understanding, overcome the old force of habit, and, more important, to ensure their fulfillment by setting up a perfect cadre system. In recent years, our party has made tremendous efforts in this field, such as carrying out structural reform and reform in the cadre system, and has initially established the system of cadres' training, the system of retirement, and so on. Such reforms to complete and perfect various systems will be continued from now on, with an aim to ensuring the fulfillment of the "four requirements" for the contingent of cadres of being revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent.

18. /"It is necessary for us to reform the existing cadre work system, and to set up a system that is favorable to the promotion of young cadres."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 198)

(By Zhu Tiezhi [2612 6993 1807])

This is an important idea that Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed in solving the problem of the party's organizational line. There were many malpractices in our past cadre work system, which were not favorable to the selection and employment of talent, in particular young talent, urgently

needed in the four modernizations. It is necessary to carry out gradual reform if we are to fulfill the requirements for the contingent of cadres to be revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent.

This is because there actually existed lifelong-tenure leading posts in the cadre system of our country in the past, though not explicitly stipulated. Its malpractices were many: First, it made the contingent of cadres forever an aging one. Despite the growth of experiences and ability with the advance of age, when anybody gets to old age, his vigorous energy will gradually decline. Therefore, it will be difficult for him to bear the burdensome work of leadership. Second, it was not favorable to training and promoting young cadres. As old comrades failed to retire as early as possible, it would be impossible to place young and middle-aged cadres in the prime of their life in suitable posts for them to use their talents; and when they were finally promoted to leading posts, they were growing old themselves, and their energy was weakened. This would inevitably affect their making greater contributions to the four modernizations. Third, such a lifelong system would easily form the situation in which cadres were to be promoted but not removed, and to be "officials" but not to be one of the ordinary people. Such a system would help the spread of the practice of "one man laying down the law," and patriarchal style among some comrades, and was unfavorable to forming a vivid and lively political situation.

It is also because there existed the habitual practice of promotion according to seniority in the selection and promotion of cadres. It is necessary to take into consideration one's qualifications and record of service in selecting and promoting cadres; nonetheless, the habitual practice of promotion according to seniority has often made one's qualifications and record of service absolute. The selection and promotion of cadres was not conducted in accordance with the "four requirements" for the contingent of cadres to be revolutionized, younger in age, better educated, and professionally more competent, nor with the needs of the building of the party, but one's qualifications and record of service were regarded as the criterion for employment. To make a balance of things, some people were promoted even though they were not up to the jobs, lest they should feel bad. On the other hand, those people whose qualifications and record of service were not as good or long were not put in important posts, even if they were outstandingly talented. Actually, one's qualifications and ability do not form a direct proportion in all cases. Many revolutionaries of the older generation took up considerably important leading work when they were very young. Today, some young and middle-aged cadres are not lacking knowledge, compared with some cadres who are far removed from the masses and reality, they have a deeper understanding of the masses and the reality. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that promotion according to seniority is the most important cause of the overstaffing of organs, with more hands than needed, bureaucratism, and waste of talent. Therefore, it is necessary to break away from the old convention of promotion according to seniority, and train and break the rules in promoting young and middle-aged cadres in a big way.

It is also because of the irrationality of the cadre administrative system. For a long time, there existed an irrational condition in the structure and formation in the contingent of cadres in our country; in addition, the irrationality of the cadre administrative system formed, to a certain degree, the "unit or department ownership" of cadres, and a too broad and too strict administration affected the rational mobility of talents. The lack of an explicit responsibility system, of clear-cut job responsibilities of cadres, and of a clear demarcation of rewards and punishments also affected the initiative of the cadres. Such irrational conditions in the structure and formation of the contingent of cadres can be gradually solved only by carrying out reforms and setting up and perfecting a complete cadre system in election, examination, appointment and removal, impeachment, promotion and demotion, rewards and punishments, elimination through competition, and so on, with appropriate and clear-cut stipulations on them.

The malpractices existing in the cadre system have seriously impeded the growth of young cadres, while our cause is in continuous need of a large number of young cadres to be selected to take the place of revolutionaries of the older generation in their work. Therefore, reform should be conducted for setting up a system which is in favor of promoting young cadres. Compared with the reform in economic management, or the ideological style of leading members, the reform in the cadre system is more important, more concerning the overall situation, and more of a fundamental nature. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out: "We are to set up such a set of systems that those who have professional knowledge in the prime of their life might be promoted to posts in which their talent will be brought into full play." (p 197) If the malpractices in the existing system are not resolutely eliminated, grave problems that have appeared in the past might reappear in the future. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has not only made profound analysis of the malpractices in the existing leadership, organizational, and cadre systems, and repeatedly expounded the necessity of reform, but has all along grasped this problem personally, and led our party to conduct reform in this field in a measured way, step by step. For instance, the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in February 1980 decided to set up the CPC Central Secretariat, and a handover to the next shift was carried out collectively. At the enlarged conference of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held in August 1980, a proposal was put forth to reduce the phenomena of holding two or more posts concurrently, and to overcome the phenomenon of overconcentration of power. In 1982, the streamlining of organs began, and so on. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has spent painstaking efforts on these reforms, and played a decisionmaking role. In the reform of the cadre work system, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forward a series of opinions and proposals of important significance, which include:

1. The implementation of the retirement system. This is an important question that has a bearing on the prosperity and vitality of our party and state. Without a retirement system, it will be impossible to solve the overstaffed condition, with more hands than jobs, and the problem that young and middle-aged cadres cannot come up. However, in light of the present condition of our party, in which old cadres are the backbone,

things cannot be handled too much in a hurry; if they are, they cannot get done. Comrade Deng Xiaoping held that the setting up of advisory commissions is a transition from the lifelong tenure posts of leadership of cadres to retirement system. In this transitional stage, we will earnestly make the contingent of cadres younger in age, and create conditions for the establishment of the retirement system and the abolition of the system of lifelong leading posts.

2. Make reducing the cadre in age the focal aim of the structural reform. Apart from opposing bureaucratism, overcoming the overstaffing of organs, with more hands than jobs, and low efficiency in work, the important thing is to select and promote talents in structural reform. At present, there are many temples, and many buddhas in every temple, and young people cannot come up. Therefore, in streamlining organs, it is necessary not only to attach attention to the question of "exhaling," but particular attention should be paid to the question of "inhaling," with a view to putting "inhaling" in the first place. The key problem is to select those younger in age in inhaling. It is necessary to do well in the selection of talents, to select the virtuous and appoint the able. By virtuous, we mean political integrity; by able, we mean professionally more competent, and better educated; they should possess practical experiences, and good health which is up to the burden.

3. Promotion should not be restricted within such existing levels as district, county, prefecture, and province among party and state cadres. There should be different steps, posts and professional titles in various trades and professions. Back in 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the question of restoring professional titles for technological personnel and in universities and colleges, saying that with the development of the construction cause, it is also necessary to stipulate new requirements and new methods in the promotion and employment of talents in various trades. People should be employed in posts and be given professional titles if they prove to be eligible through examination. Young cadres will be boldly promoted in an exceptional way only when those outmoded concepts of steps and levels are broken, and new steps and levels are created suitable to the new situation and the new task.

In recent years, our party has made heartening achievements in the reform of the cadre system. Take the reform of the leading bodies at the provincial level alone: First, the number of people in the leading bodies has been cut. The number of members of the standing committees of the provincial CPC committees, and governors and vice governors (mayors, chairmen) has dropped to 452 from 698 before the readjustment, down 35 percent. Second, there is a drop in the average age to 55.5 years from the 62.2 years before the readjustment. Third, there is a rise in the cultural level. In the leading bodies, the number of those who have a cultural background of university or college level has grown to 42 percent from the 20 percent before the readjustment. Fourth, there is a proper proportion of new and old cadres. In the new leading bodies, over half the members are well-tempered old cadres, and a certain number of nonparty members, women, and national minority cadres are also assigned. Although we have made some achievements in the reform of the cadre system, this is only a beginning, and much effort must still be exerted.

HOW SHOULD WE UNDERSTAND LENIN'S SAYING 'TALK MORE ABOUT THE ECONOMY, AND LESS ABOUT POLITICS'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 36-37

[Article by Huang Shaoqun [7806 1421 5028]]

[Text] In his article "Uphold the Four Basic Principles," when talking about the task of ideological and theoretical work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Lenin called for more talk about the economy, and less about politics. I think that as regards the proportion of theoretical work to be done in these two aspects, his words are still applicable today." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 167; all quotations henceforth come from this book, so only the page number will be noted)

Under what conditions did Lenin say these words? How should we understand them? How should we understand Comrade Deng Xiaoping's idea that Lenin's words are still applicable today? In order to deepen my understanding, I have reread the relevant work of Lenin's. Here, I shall say a little about what I have learned through my studies.

At the Eighth National Congress of Soviet Russia in December 1920, Lenin made his "Report on the Work of the People's Committees." He pointed out in the report that from that time on, there must be less talk of politics, and more of the economy. He predicted that: "From now on, there will appear on the platform of the All-Russia Congresses not only politicians and administrative personnel, but engineers and agriculturalists. This is the beginning of the age of great happiness; when we reach that age, there will be less and less politics, people will discuss politics relatively little, and will not make such lengthy speeches about it, while the people making the speeches will increasingly be engineers and agriculturalists. In order to make a genuine shift toward the cause of economic construction, we must first establish this practice at the national soviet congresses, and then pass it down, establishing it in all soviets and organizations, in all newspapers and agitprop departments, and in all organs." "From now on, the best politics will be to discuss politics less. We must mobilize more engineers and agriculturalists, learn from them, and look into their work; we must not turn the national congress and conferences into forums for empty talk, but must instead turn them into organs investigating economic achievements, and organs in which

we are able genuinely to study economic construction." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 397)

Lenin's thinking was extremely clearcut. The "politics" which he referred to when he said that we must talk less about politics was the "politics" "in the old concept of the word," that is, the sort of politics which referred mainly to class struggle, especially the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Moreover, once this struggle had basically come to an end, this sort of "politics" should be talked about less, and discussion should be turned to another aspect of "politics," that is, "the economic aspect of politics," "politics concerned with national construction," which meant that the party and the state's "whole attention should be turned to this economic construction." (Ibid., pp 370, 381)

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Before the proletariat has grasped political power, the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie embodies the greatest economic interests of the proletariat, because only by overthrowing the bourgeoisie can the proletariat come to win everything. However, when the proletariat has grasped political power, economics is able to become a direct expression of itself, so economics itself becomes the "main politics" of the proletariat, and the "best politics." (Ibid., pp 370, 397) Lenin concretely and clearly pointed out: "Our main politics at present should be: Taking up national economic construction, harvesting more grain, supplying more coal, solving the problem of how to use this grain and coal more appropriately, and eliminating hunger. This is our politics. We must therefore conduct all our agitprop work according to these things. We should indulge in less empty talk, because empty talk cannot satisfy the people's needs." (Ibid., pp 370-371)

Lenin expounded this problem from the starting point of the fundamental interests of the proletariat; his aim was, on the one hand, to ensure the survival of Soviet Russia at the time, and on the other hand, to achieve the ultimate goal of the struggle of the proletarian party in power--the realization of communism.

At that time, Soviet Russia had only just broken free of the armed intervention of the big imperialist powers, and still stood like an isolated island, surrounded by these big powers. Lenin repeatedly pointed out: "If we are unable to restore our country's economy, then we will fall behind the big capitalist powers, and will be beaten." (Ibid., p 384)

"What is communism?" Lenin answered: "All communist propaganda must ultimately lead to real national construction." "Communism is now no longer merely our program, our theory, and our subject of discussion, but our construction cause." For the purpose of realizing communism, Lenin made the appeal to "turn irresponsible Communist Party members into real builders of our economic cause." And at the same time to "reeducate the masses," "linking the masses with the construction of common economic life." (Ibid., p 371)

Lenin's brilliant thinking concerning talking less about politics and more about economics was distorted and attacked at the time by Trotsky and Bukharin, and Lenin had no choice but to open up a debate with them. During the argument, Lenin particularly pointed out: "Naturally, I hoped in the past, I hope at present, and I shall continue to hope in the future that we will indulge less in politics and more in economics. However, it is not difficult to understand that in order to realize this hope, we are bound to create political dangers and /political mistakes/ [passage within slantlines denotes boldface]." (Ibid., p 444) And when Trotsky and Bukharin provoked conflict within the party, attempting to make the party leave economic work, Lenin did not hesitate to take some time to criticize their mistakes from a political point of view. But he expressed great regret over having to waste so much time over this kind of argument.

The above constitutes Lenin's main exposition of the question.

In quoting these words by Lenin, Comrade Deng Xiaoping linked them with the real situation in our country today. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has determinedly effected a shift in the focus of its work. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "What is our main task for today and for a relatively long period of time to come? Briefly, it is to carry out modernization. Our ability or otherwise to realize the four modernizations will decide the fate of our country and its people. Under China's actual conditions, carry out socialist modernization properly means upholding Marxism, and holding high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought. If you do not grasp the four modernizations, and fail to start from this point of reality, you will divorce yourself from Marxism, and merely indulge in idle talk about Marxism. The construction of socialist modernization constitutes our greatest politics at present, because it represents the greatest and most fundamental interests of the people." (pp 148-149) In his opening speech to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again pointed out: "The stepping up of socialist modernization, the fight to achieve the reunification of the motherland including Taiwan, and the opposition to hegemony and the maintenance of world peace, constitute the three big tasks of our country and people during the 1980's. Of these three big tasks, the central one is economic construction; it is the basis for solving both international and domestic problems." (p 372)

When Comrade Deng Xiaoping says that socialist modernization constitutes our greatest politics at present, he is entirely in harmony with Lenin's thinking. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping says we should talk more about economics, he means we should talk more about the four modernizations. At present, there are an even greater number of theoretical questions facing theoretical workers, including questions of basic theory, industrial theory, agricultural theory, commercial theory, administrative theory, and so on, all of which are in urgent need of investigation and solution. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping says that we should talk less about politics, he refers to "politics" in the previous sense of the word, and means in particular that we must never again "take class struggle as the key link" as we did before. But to say that we should not discuss this kind of politics is not

to say that we should not discuss politics at all, still less that we can cast off politics altogether. On the one hand, modernization represents our greatest and best politics at present, and is something which the whole party and the whole nation should talk about more. On the other hand, "politics" in its previous sense has not yet entirely disappeared, that is, class struggle will continue to exist within a certain scope; for instance, hitting out at criminal activities which damage socialism in the economic and other spheres involves class struggle. Attacking these criminal activities constitutes one of the most important guarantees for our concentration of efforts to carry out the modernization, so of course we must talk about it. As for theoretical workers, there are still many questions in the political sphere which require investigation; just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Political studies, law, and social studies are things which we overlooked for many years in the past, and we must now hurry to catch up on our lessons." (p 167) In addition, the "five stresses, four beauties, and three loves" activities which are now in the ascendant among the people all over the country are also political activities. However, these "politics" all center on economic construction, and are all opened up and carried out with the purpose of ensuring and promoting the construction of the four modernizations.

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ON FREUD'S THEORY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

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[Article by Zhao Biru [6392 3880 1172]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Psychoanalysis is one of the main schools of modern Western psychology, and it was founded in the late 19th century and early 20th century by the Austrian psychiatrist and psychologist Sigmund Freud. Freud was born in 1856 in Freiburg to a Jewish merchant family. In 1873 he went to study at the medical college of Vienna University. Later he researched nerve cell tissue and neurology and gradually moved toward research into psychology, thus founding psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalysis is an idealist ideological set-up which is centered on, and begins with research into the processes of the unconscious mind. Some people in the West divide Freud's theories of psychoanalysis into the early period and the later period. What Freud researched during the early period was various approaches to psychotherapy and general theories pertaining to the processes of the unconscious mind. His most important works to come out of this period include "The Interpretation of Dreams," "The Psychopathology of Everyday Life," "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality," and "A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis." During the later period Freud and his followers believed that some of the basic theories of psychoanalysis were of universal significance within the sphere of all man's activities and for this reason they took these basic theories and applied them in a much wider way to all sorts of spheres such as human social life and the development of cultural history. It was in the wake of this situation that psychoanalysis became synonymous with the term Freudian analysis. The main works to appear during this period of Freud's life included "Beyond the Pleasure Principle," "The Ego and the Id," "Civilization and Its Discontents," "Totem and Taboo," and "Moses and Monotheism." In the several decades since Freud's death in London in 1939 many new schools of Freudianism have grown up. These include some attempts to integrate Freudianism with Marxism with the aim of using Freudianism to oppose the so-called Marxist "Freudian-Marxism." Although these schools and attempts appear on the surface to be something new, they do in actual fact still preserve the fundamental principles of Freudianism.

Freud made definite contributions in his research into psychotherapy and psychiatry and some of his individual theoretical points are of definite referential value to us in modern psychological research. However, as an ideological set-up Freudianism is an extremely powerful corruptive agent in human society. In this article we will concentrate on taking a closer look at Freud's theories of psychoanalysis and Freudianism in general.

I

In order to clearly understand the essential nature of Freud's theories of psychoanalysis, we should start by discussing his /theory of the structure of the mind/.

During the early period, Freud took the structure of the mind as being divisible into three systems at different levels; namely, the unconscious system, the subconscious system, and the conscious system. He believed that the unconscious system was the deepest level within the structure of the mind and that it was the storehouse for man's biological instincts and urges. These instincts and urges were loaded with an enormous amount of psychological energy and were subordinate to the principles of happiness, always forcefully seeking a means of expression, trying to encroach into the conscious to seek satisfaction. The impulse of these instincts and desires within the unconscious system provided, according to Freud, the motive force for man's behavior. This force was the natural exciting cause of creation and destruction, sexual desire and aggression, and birth and death. The subconscious (or preconscious) system represented a border region between the conscious and the unconscious systems. Freud said that the subconscious system was made up of recallable experiences and its main function was to act as a guard between the unconscious and the conscious systems. Within the subconscious system existed the conscience, built up through social, moral, ethical and religious standards, norms and value concepts. In addition, the subconscious was said to house individual ideals, put together and produced through the social consciousness. These individual ideals represented the core of the subconscious' watchdog, and they prevented the instincts and urges brimming with psychological energy from encroaching on the conscious mind. The conscious system was that part of the structure of the mind linked with direct perception and understanding. The conscious faced the outside world and fulfilled the role of being the mind's apparatus of perception. It was seen as obeying the principles of reality and its main function was to remove from the mind innate or animal instincts and urges which arose from the unconscious system. Thus the conscious system and the unconscious system were believed to perpetually be in a tense state of conflict with one another and this tense situation arose out of the necessity to quash the impulse of these instincts and urges. Hence in the final analysis the activities of the conscious system were seen to be determined by innate instincts and urges and not by the outside world.

During the later period, Freud made some corrections and additions to his theories of the structure of the mind in order to explain social phenomena, which resulted in the production of his so-called theory of personality. He

divided the human personality vertically into three component parts, namely, "the id," "the ego" and "the super-ego." The positions and roles of these three component parts within the mind processes of a human being were all different: "Id" represented the most fundamental or primitive and non-rational structure, present from birth. It was the manifestor of one's instincts and urges and it provided the power for all human mental processes. It was the vessel for mental or psychological capacities, fiercely seeking a means of expression. The "id" was filled with suppressed instincts, urges and impulses. They tried to achieve satisfaction on the basis of the principles of happiness and by means of the "ego." The "ego" was a conscious system and was in contact with the outside world, appearing as the accumulated experiences of the outside world. It represented for Freud the intermediary between the "id," the outside world, between urges and their satisfaction. The "ego" functioned according to principles of reality, namely the demands of the outside world. It regulated the existing conflict between the "id" and the outside world, and it consumed all of its energy in controlling, suppressing, and rejecting the impulses of the non-rational "id." It made use of all kinds of protection mechanism to oppose the "id" in order to maintain the motive, tense relations demarcating itself and the "id." In general the "ego" realized the "id's" intentions while the "id" provided the self with the energy for activity. The "superego" was seen as a structure which effected its role on the basis of standards and demands of social behavior within each person's inner world, created and built up through the instruction of one's parents and teachers. It played its role unconsciously and yet did also share some common features with some conscious things (such as conscience, ideals, and so on). The "superego" was for Freud the store or the manifestation of moral, taboo, and ethical norms and standards and religious discipline. The "superego" encouraged the struggle between the "ego" and the "id." The mental tension aroused by the "superego" was perceived as a sense of fear and a sense of guilt. The effect of the "superego" was to be able to bring about the unconscious need for atonement of one's crimes and self-punishment.

Freud's theories concerning the structure of the mind were mostly the result of subjective fabrication and they lacked any scientific basis. When he analyzed the problem of the structure of the mind, Freud never considered the mind's dependence on the brain. With very little known about the functions of the brain, Freud believed in a rather biased way that research in psychology could totally ignore questions of the physiology of the brain and that since psychological phenomena had their own laws, one only needed to rely on purely psychological hypotheses in order to discover the laws of psychological activity. It is very hard to reach any kind of scientific conclusions about the essential nature of man's mind by ignoring the brain itself. Lenin said: "Psychological things are normal activities of the brain's function; to separate these functions from matter which has been put together in a specific way, to transform these functions into universal abstract notions and use these abstract notions to 'replace' the entire physical natural world is philosophical idealist wishful thinking and makes a mockery of natural science." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 14, p 240) It must be borne in mind that scientific research based on the physiology

of the cerebrum has shown that it is not only general psychological processes which are carried out on the basis of high level neural activity, but in addition, the instincts of most vertebrates are also regulated by the cerebrum.

When Freud discussed the question of the psychological structure of the mind he concentrated only on the deepest level of unconscious mental processes and completely ignored the dependency of the mind on the outside world. Although he did say that the conscious system or the "superego" is in contact with the outside world, within his theoretical system the outside world is in no way regarded as the protagonist for man's mental or psychological activities, rather, the outside world becomes for Freud the antithesis for suppressing and blocking innate, unconscious instincts and urges. This is in direct contradiction to the Marxist dialectical materialist viewpoint which considers that the existence determines that consciousness and the mind are a reflection of the outside world.

In his explanation of the structure of the mind, Freud stresses that the instincts and urges of the unconscious system or the "id" and the decisive role they play in man's behavior and activities illustrate the motive power that they provide man with for his activities and behavior. However Freud does not consider the influence of man's activities on his psychology or mind nor the feedback reaction of these activities on the mind and this too is not in keeping with objective reality. Human beings "change themselves at the same time as they are changing their environment." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 234) It is inevitable that man's behavior will influence his mind.

II

Freud's theories on psychoanalysis represent the main basis for his views on social history.

First of all, on the basis of non-rationalism, Freud came up with his /theory of instinct/ which was a theory concerning the determinative role of the instincts and urges of the unconscious on man's behavior and actions. During the early period Freud used biological classifications to divide up instincts into two types, namely defensive instincts (instincts related to the danger of starvation or fear and so on) and reproductive instincts (sexual instincts). During the later period he integrated these two types of instincts and referred to them as instincts of survival. In addition, he added other types of instinct in opposition to this, which he called instincts of death (invasive or aggressive instincts and self-extinction instincts). Freud added these latter kinds of instinct after witnessing the fearful death and destruction of World War I. Freud believed that all human activities are governed by the instincts and urges of the unconscious. Instincts and urges of survival forcefully seek fulfillment or happiness for certain organs or the satisfaction of mechanical needs and these instincts and urges govern man's activities on the basis of the principles of happiness. Instincts and urges of death urgently seek destruction, invasion, aggression and even self-extinction and

they govern man's abnormal activities through the destructive or exterminative internal strength of the body.

When Freud discussed the source of these instincts and urges he wrote: "The source of all urges must be understood to be found within certain physical organs or within a portion of processes within the human body. The arousal or excitement of these processes within the mind, manifests the form of the urges." ("Collected Works of Freud," German Edition, Vol 10, p 215) Urges possess a physical instinct and they appear as a result of internal mechanical arousal and not as a result of the influence of the external world. This mechanical explanation of man's activities which divorces the latter from the outside world is the very crux of the materialist substance of psychoanalysis.

When Freud discussed his theory of instinct and more specifically human activity, he only stressed the determinative role of unconscious instincts and urges in man's activities and he ignored the regulatory role of the conscious in man's activities. Freud metaphysically split open and divided the conscious processes and the unconscious processes of all mental activity in order to explain his theories and this is not in accordance with the essential nature of mental activities. We do not in any way deny the objective existence of unconscious mental processes nor do we deny the objective fact that people are sometimes not conscious of the motivation behind their actions. Freud emphasized the influence of the unconscious mind on man's actions and some of the things he wrote concerning this are worthy of positive appraisal. However, scientific psychological experiments have proved that within the mental processes of a human being, conscious and unconscious factors exist and develop in dialectical unity, there is always mutual interaction between them, they always mutually restrict each other, they always mutually encroach on the other and they always mutually change each other. Thus in most situations man's activities are always regulated by the conscious. Consciousness is the key by which we may distinguish between man and animal and on this point Marx and Engels wrote: "The only difference between man and a sheep is that consciousness has replaced instincts, or, in other words, his instincts are instincts reached through the conscious." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 35) To deny the role of the conscious in man is in actual fact to confuse man with animals. Furthermore, Freud considered man's instincts to be the determinants of man's activities and this is even more incorrect. It should be admitted that man's instincts do play a role in man's activities and indeed Freud did make some important contributions in the research that he did in this area. However, Freud's mistake lay in his exaggeration of the role of instinct in man's actions and in his view of them as determinants. Marxism considers that man's actions are the result of many different factors but that the only truly decisive factor can be man's social relations. The aim of the Freudian exaggeration of the role of instinct was clearly to deny this fundamental concept of Marxism.

On the basis of his theory of instinct, Freud went on to develop his own /theory of suppression/, which was a theory related to the suppression or

inhibition which the unconscious instincts and urges suffer. He regarded this theory as the cornerstone of psychoanalytic theory. As Freud saw it, the whole of society is a prohibitive and restrictive system and it continually exerts pressure from outside on the impulse of the unconscious instincts and urges which govern man's actions according to the principles of happiness. As a result, society's restrictions and the individual's needs are in a constant state of opposition. Man's instincts and urges, these being mainly sexual instincts and urges are, even from earliest childhood, prohibited and devastated by the social system and it is as a result of this that mental illness occurs. Instincts and urges which are suppressed and which are not satisfied are pushed into the realms of the unconscious, whereafter, by the form of "suppression" they preserve their mental energy and constantly attempt roundabout ways to be satisfied or they gain false satisfaction through dreams, slips of the tongue and written errors, or, on the basis of the principle of sublimination, they manifest themselves in forms in which society may accept and condone them (such as artistic and literary creations and scientific and technological inventions).

On this basis Freud believed that the impulse for the instincts and urges of living things represented the basis for all human social behavior. Society's function is, with the help of the "superego" or the "watchdog," to control and suppress man's instincts and urges, for otherwise societies would not exist. Human social development is, according to Freud, achieved through suppressing man's instincts and urges. Therefore to man, society is always a curse. Civilization and culture are based on the denial of the satisfaction of instincts and urges (instincts and urges of survival and death). Man's aggressive and self-destructive instincts and urges represent a threat to culture and progress and they are the cause of the destruction of human coexistence. Human civilization is the result of the sublimination of suppressed instincts and urges. As far as man is concerned, cultural progress is achieved at the price of sacrificing happiness. The entire social system (the state, institutions, the family and so on) and the entire development of social history are the result of instincts and urges and the interaction of the complexities of emotions which occur on the basis of these instincts and urges. Thus the whole of human history is a rhythmic play involving the struggle between "Eros" (representing the instincts and urges of survival) and "Thanatos" (representing the instincts and urges of death). Revolutions and uprisings are concrete manifestations of aggressive instincts; the basis for the inevitability of war lies in the instinct of destruction, in other words, all of these things are determined by the instinct for destruction. Here Freud used the instincts and urges of the unconscious to explain the history of society, culture, civilization and mankind, as well as revolution, war and other extremely important social problems. Thus he used individual psychiatry to explain socio-historical facts, regarding instincts and urges as the decisive factors in socio-historical development.

Freud's theory of suppression contains two fatal flaws. One is that in his view, there exists between the individual and society a necessary conflict and that the source of the inevitability of this conflict is to be found

within the antisocial aspect of the individual's instincts and urges. However, this way of looking at things lacks a solid basis. Marxism considers that man and society are in unity. A very simple example would be that the urges and desires of the individual can only gain true satisfaction within social life. Of course, within all class societies there are always some people's desires which achieve satisfaction and some people's desires which are suppressed. The cause of this phenomenon cannot be explained by the natural antisociality of man, quite the opposite, it is the result of man's sociability and the sum of all kinds of social relations. The absolute opposition of man against society does in fact provide a theoretical basis for the so-called "absolute freedom" and extreme individualism of capitalist class societies. The second of Freud's errors is that in his discussion of the question of the interrelation between man and social history, he was working on the erroneous basis of the theory of organic determination and nonrationalism. He considered all questions except such things as the decisive role that the manner of production of material goods has on socio-historical development, the social relations built up amongst human beings during the process of material production, nor such historical materialist viewpoints such as that the essential nature of man represents the sum of social relations and so on. To divorce oneself from these few points makes it impossible to explain socio-historical and human problems. Thus the essential error of Freudianism lies in the fact that it does not use socio-historical concepts to analyze psychological problems and questions, rather it uses theories of psychoanalysis to explain socio-historical phenomena. Hence it arrives at a counterscientific result: The "biologization" of psychological things; the "naturalization" of human things; the "psychologization" of social things. This is erroneous in the same way as Social Darwinism. Freud mechanically removed certain rules of psychiatry and placed them within the sphere of social phenomena, but the development of society follows its own special rules and these rules cannot be summed up as the rules of psychiatry.

On the basis of the Helmholtz school's theory of energy, Freud also viewed man's entire body as an energy system. He believed that within this energy system, in addition to mechanical, electrical, and chemical energy physiologically manifested in the human body, there also existed a mental energy which functioned within mental processes. These energies he believed to be mutually interchangeable. In essence, this meant that mental energy was regarded as instinctual energy. In addition it also meant that mental energy was seen as a kind of energy indivisibly linked to sexual instincts. Freud called this kind of mental energy "libido." The libido, according to Freud provided man with the motivation for all his activities, instincts and urges. Freud used "libido" to explain the motivation behind man's actions and thus his theory acquired the name /the theory of sexuality/. On the basis of a story from Greek mythology, Freud came up with the term "Oedipus complex." He used this concept to explain the intricate conflict of emotions experienced by sons and daughters toward their mothers and fathers. He applied this fictitious concept in the arena of the social sciences and summed up social development and the source of religion and morals as being products of the

"Oedipus complex." In his book "Totem and Taboo" Freud wrote that in prehistoric tribes which were based on the patriarchal system "the following system existed: the naturally brutal and jealous fathers of the tribe forcibly seized and possessed all the women of the tribe as their own while all sons were sent away when they had grown up.... Then one day two brothers who had been sent away joined together and killed and ate their own father, whereupon the patriarchal tribal system came to an end.... These things were the cause and origin of social organization, moral restrictions, and religion."

Freud considered man's sexual behavior to be the most important motivation for all his activities and this is incorrect. It is extremely hard to say that man's sexual behavior is the main motivation behind production, politics, science, the arts and all other activities. Even those with a minimum understanding and knowledge of life can see that this is not true. When Marx wrote about sexual behavior he said: "It is true that eating, drinking, and sex are all correct human functions, but if these functions become divorced from man's other activities and if they become the only and ultimate aim, then, within such an abstraction, they are merely animal functions." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 94) This means that we cannot abstractly talk about man's sexual behavior by divorcing it from man's sociality. If we do, then man's otherwise correct functions are transformed into animal functions. Lu Xun also wrote a powerful criticism of Freud's theory of sexuality. He wrote that Freud, "I am afraid, had money and thus ate his fill and as a result never knew what it was like to be hungry, he only concentrated on sexual urges.... Freud also told us that daughters all love their fathers and that sons all love their mothers and this was the result of sexual differences. However, not long after a child is born, no matter whether it is a boy or a girl, it purses its lips and turns its head all around. Can it be that the child wants to be kissed by someone of the opposite sex? No, everyone knows very well that the child is doing that because it's hungry!" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," Vol 4, p 359) It is very obvious and clear that in actual fact, Freud's theory of sexuality greatly distorts and exaggerates the role of sex in man's actions and that it even confuses the roles of the sexual urge and the urge to eat, in that it "sexualizes" the outward signs of the urge to eat. From a physiological, psychological, and social standpoint this is entirely incorrect.

III

Freud's theory of psychoanalysis is one school of modern Western psychology but its influence extends far beyond the sphere of psychology and it has spread into many ideological realms within Western capitalist society. This is because this idealist ideological set-up is able to fulfill the special demands of the capitalist classes. When capitalism entered the stage of imperialism, the large capitalist classes shamelessly entered into a life of utter luxury. Rapid changes in politics and economics meant that the medium and small capitalist classes all went bankrupt, while the laboring masses slid into abject poverty. In this kind of irrationally organized social system it was unavoidable that all sorts of morbid social phenomena

should arise. The masses of each strata of society were confronted with the conflicts and disturbances of the society and thus people felt more and more worried and unsure and despondent, losing faith in the future. Under these kinds of circumstances the occurrence of mental illnesses grew rapidly. When Freud was examining the causes of these illnesses and ways of curing them he did not look at an irrational social system, instead he started out from a position of biological determination and thus he sought ways of solving problems by looking at the patient's inner mental world, or rather, the instincts and urges in his unconscious, especially factors relating to the motivation behind his sexual urges. Since this kind of theory was extremely well suited to the political needs of the ruling classes, it became used as a tool to screen the evils of an irrational system. At the same time, in order to distort the true social and economic reasons for the proletarian revolution, the capitalist classes also needed to provide support for theories which tried to prove that the proletarian revolution was the result of expression of man's instincts of destruction and resistance. Freudianism used the instincts and urges of the unconscious to explain social phenomena and this fitted in very well with the needs of the capitalist classes.

Amongst the important works on psychoanalysis, Freud took the question of man's sexual urges as an important question of psychology and provided a mythical kind of description and explanation, giving it an extremely mystical hue. This corresponded entirely with the spiritual needs of those people in the capitalist society who were depressed, bored, dejected, pessimistic, indifferent and degenerate and moribund in their feelings. Lenin said: "Freud's theories are very much in vogue. I doubt these articles, theories, and booklets. In conclusion, they are theories of a very special kind which have bred and multiplied within the filthy slime of the capitalist class society. I have the same suspicions about people who concentrate only on these few questions as I do about the Indian monks who spend their time contemplating their navels. As far as I can see most of this is merely supposition and yet it is a type of theory which is growing fast as a result of the individual's desires and needs, namely to prove, in the face of capitalist class morals, that the individual's sexual abnormalities and hyperfunctions are in fact normal and thereby entreat toleration. I feel that this false worship of capitalist class morals in terms of sexual problems is both boring and repugnant. No matter how presumptuous or how revolutionary this movement is it is still one hundred percent capitalist." (Zetkin: "Impressions of Lenin," Sanlian Bookshop, 1954, p 61)

Freud's thinking was introduced into China during the 1920's and was in fact propagated within certain spheres. For this reason Freudian thinking had a certain influence, in some cases large, in some cases small, within Chinese scientific and cultural circles, especially in medical psychology (pathological psychology), psychological sociology and social psychology. After the founding of new China, those working in psychology and philosophy in China came to a closer understanding of the true nature of Freudianism--the capitalist class ideology of the imperialist era--as a result of their increased study of Marxism and the development of research into dialectical

materialistic psychology. As a result of this understanding, Chinese psychologists and philosophers rejected Freudianism. In recent years China has been implementing an open-door policy in its relations with foreign countries and as cultural and scientific exchanges with Western capitalist countries develop Freudianism has once again seized the opportunity to infiltrate in many different ways into China's ideological spheres. For example, some people advocate that we should "grasp the theories of the motivation of behavior in terms of psychological phenomena as advocated by Freudian schools of thought and take this as a component part of the Marxist viewpoint." This is the advocacy of the so-called "Freudian-Marxism" and is in reality a distortion of Marxism from a Freudian theoretical basis. As one of the latest branches of Freudianism, "Freudian-Marxism" is a capitalist class hotch-potch of falsehoods. Its central ideology is an attempt to integrate Marxism with Freudianism and an attempt to achieve a kind of synthesis by distorting Marxist theories with Freudian theories. The spheres of the ideologies of Marxism and Freudianism represent two irreconcilable and opposing theoretical and ideological set-ups and thus any theories which attempt in any way to merge the two are both absurd and dangerous. Another example is the theory of sexuality in psychoanalysis which has been propagated amongst a certain percentage of young people. With the assumption of confirming that "Freud's psychoanalysis which relates to sex has now become a vital or permanent part of the psychology of the young generation," this theory purports that "sexual urges are the most important basis for a human being's behavior." This too is incorrect. According to the principles of historical materialism, it is the material conditions of social life which represent the most important basis for determining man's behavior. Sexual impulses are merely one kind of human physiological phenomenon and while they have specific influences on human behavior, to transform them into something which influences man's behavior, is to run counter to historical materialism. It should be pointed out that we do not in any way condone asceticist psychological viewpoints nor do we in any way reject the necessity of carrying out suitable sexual education for young people as well as providing them with necessary scientific knowledge of sexual matters. However, we do firmly oppose the propagation amongst young people of the Freudian theory of sexuality which is directly opposed to the Marxist world view, in particular when such propagation is done under the guise of sexual education. At the same time it should be pointed out that sexual education for young people should be carried out in a way that ensures that it is integrated with the demands of communist moral education and the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. These two things cannot be divorced from one another, for if they are, people will become confused about sexual matters and problems and this might even lead to criminal acts, producing an extremely negative influence on society.

In conclusion, as far as we are concerned, on the one hand we must develop research into many different areas of psychology and, on the other hand, we must ensure that we are guided by the scientific principles of Marxism. We cannot ignore one and concentrate more on the other. Only in this way can we clearly define the division between the principles of Marxism and Freudianism and thus push forward and promote research into scientific Marxist psychology.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROTRACTED ECONOMIC RECESSION AND CRISIS OF THE WEST
ON THE WORKING CLASS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 83 pp 44-48

[Article by Huang Suan [7806 4790 1658]]

[Text] From the beginning of the 1970's, there has occurred in the capitalist world an economic recession of unprecedented length. During this period, the years 1973-1975 and 1979-1982 saw the most serious crisis of overproduction since World War II. The effect on the working class of this protracted economic recession and crisis has been many-sided and profound.

I

In this situation of economic recession and crisis, the monopoly capitalist class and their governments in the West, in order to continue to make rich profits and to break free of economic difficulties, have adopted all sorts of measures and policies, trying by every possible means to place the burden on the working class. This has been manifested in several respects.

1. Laying off large numbers of workers, and increasing exploitation of remaining workers.

Since the early 1970's, the long-term unfavorable world economic situation has brought about an intensification of market competition. In order to make their own products more competitive on the domestic and foreign markets, capitalists have consistently replaced workers with machines and large numbers of unskilled workers with small numbers of skilled ones. Overproduction has brought about a corresponding increase in surplus labor. Due to political considerations, Western governments sometimes put forward plans to reduce unemployment, but their role is always highly limited. Instead of its normal cyclical ups and downs, the unemployed population in this period has shown a constant increase. The number of registered unemployed in the OECD countries has increased from something over 9 million in 1973 to over 30 million in 1982, and the unemployment rate rose from 3.3 percent to 8.5 percent, the highest since the war. If figures for non-registered unemployed and semiunemployed were included in the calculations, these figures would double. Moreover, the number of people who have been unemployed for 6 months or more is the highest since the war. The

capitalists' main purpose in laying off large numbers of workers is to increase productivity among the remaining workers, to employ relatively few workers to produce more goods, and to increase the extent of exploitation of the working class. In the OECD countries, the number of people in employment rose only 6 percent during the years 1975-1982, while the total national production value rose 19 percent; during the same period, there was hardly any increase in the number of people employed in U.S. manufacturing industries, while the output in those industries rose by 18 percent. Under conditions in which the industrial reserve army is constantly on the increase, the capitalists further use the fear of unemployment among employed workers and the competition between employed and unemployed workers to bring down workers' wages. The more an enterprise operates under capacity, the more profits the capitalists must extract from the enterprise while it is in operation.

2. Greatly curbing workers' wages and increasing capitalists' profits.

Since the early 1970's, the inflation characteristic of the capitalist world has reached a degree unprecedented in peacetime. Between 1974 and 1982, the price of consumer products in the OECD countries increased by an average of 10.2 percent, more than double the 4.7 percent increase which occurred during the 1965-1973 period. Under the name of reducing inflation, Western governments have universally carried out "income policies" of limiting or freezing workers' wages. These policies appear on the surface to control both wages and inflation, but in fact they only limit wages, and are unable to control inflation. Sometimes, for short periods, they control prices to some extent, but as soon as this control is lifted, prices leap like runaway horses. Before the 1970's, the above-mentioned "income policies" were used from time to time in a minority of countries like the United States and Britain, but they have now been in widespread use among Western countries for many years. In 1982, the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, Italy, Canada, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark all froze or limited the wages of civil service workers, clearly stipulating that these workers' wages were not to increase at a rate higher than that of inflation; while France, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, New Zealand, and Finland carried out policies which to a greater or lesser extent froze or limited wages and prices on a national scale. The "income policies" carried out by Western governments during periods of "stagflation" were in fact a way of standing publicly on the side of the capitalists in the fierce struggle between capitalist and worker for a share of the national income. Directly or indirectly, inflation has brought about a decrease in nominal and actual wages.

3. Tightening up on public consumption, and promoting capital accumulation.

Over the past few years, the financial deficits of Western nations have increased several times, dozens of times, or many dozens of times. In order to decrease the financial deficit, and to save themselves from financial crisis, Western governments under normal conditions must either increase tax revenues, or cut down on government spending, or practice a combination of the two, but whatever they do, they are bound to shrink the

economy through production, and to intensify overproduction. In this situation, when there are too many problems to tackle, since 1979, Western governments have almost universally adopted budget policies of bringing down consumption and stimulating investment, so as to quicken the rate of capital accumulation of monopoly organizations. This policy consists mainly of cutting down on social welfare spending, increasing indirect taxation, the burden of which falls mainly on those with lower incomes, and decreasing direct income tax, particularly on those in the high income bracket and on corporations. Different Western governments have adopted different measures for reducing social welfare spending: Either they have reduced medical insurance, unemployment compensation, family welfare benefits, and other social security spending; or they have separated welfare benefits from the cost-of-living index, thus reducing the real income of workers; or they have deferred payment of supplementary benefits which should be paid on top of pensions and other benefits in order to keep pace with inflation. At the same time, they have also increased the national insurance tax payable by those eligible for welfare benefits. In 1978, social insurance tax amounted to 15.6 percent of workers' wages in the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, Britain, and Italy; by 1983, it accounted for 17.6 percent. Since taking office, Reagan has made a series of decisions to reduce social welfare payment, from poor people's food coupons to children's care subsidies and employment programs. This year, the U.S. Government has put forward another program for the reform of the social insurance system. This program will mean that over the financial years 1984-1989, U.S. citizens from all strata will lose social benefits to the value of \$164.3 billion. Though the Reagan administration is opposed to tax increases, nevertheless, in fact, between the financial years 1982 and 1984, consumption tax, the main burden of which falls on those in the lower income bracket, will increase by 11.3 percent. Income tax, the main burden of which falls on those with higher incomes and on companies, has fallen for 3 years in succession, with a total reduction of 25 percent. This major policy of Reagan's to stimulate saving and investment is the central substance of his "economic recovery program." Under this policy, corporation income tax, which amounted to 15 percent of federal government income in 1978, fell to 5.9 percent in 1983, the lowest in history. But in the previous 5 years, the amount of tax paid by U.S. households rose by 67 percent. It is no surprise, then, that the American people blame the Reagan administration's budget policy for "stealing from the poor to give to the rich." The inevitable result of implementing such a policy is to redistribute the national income in a way even more advantageous to capitalists and even more disadvantageous to the workers, and to deepen and broaden further the chasm between rich and poor in capitalist society.

II

The continuing economic stagnation and crisis, which is placed on the shoulders of the workers by the monopoly capitalist class, has dealt the working classes a heavier blow than at any time since the great depression of the 1930's.

For the first time since World War II, there has been a drop in the average rate of increase of the real wages of workers. According to official statistics from the West, this rate of increase dropped from 4 percent in the years 1962-1972 to 2.4 percent during the years 1973-1978; and during some years in the latter part of the 1970's, real wages in the United States, Britain, and other countries showed an absolute drop. From 1980 to 1982, there occurred an absolute reduction of real wages for a year or more in the United States, Japan, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Austria, and Switzerland. In 1980 alone, real wages in the manufacturing industries in the United States fell by 5 percent. At present, the real wages of workers in those countries practicing wage freezes or wage controls, under conditions of rising prices, are bound to fall further.

The tens of millions of unemployed in the capitalist countries, having lost their normal source of income, rely on income from unemployment compensation, and the vast majority are only able to maintain a relatively low standard of living. In the Western European countries, unemployment compensation is generally 65-90 percent of previous wages, and can only be enjoyed for a year or less, while over a quarter of the total number of unemployed in Western Europe have been out of work for a year or more; having lost their right to unemployment compensation, they have to scrape by on still more meager social relief funds. Life for unemployed workers in the United States is even harder. In 1982, only about 40 percent of the unemployed there were eligible for unemployment compensation, and this compensation was sometimes as low as 40 percent of their previous wages.

The old, the sick, the widowed, and others who rely on fixed incomes for survival, are in the weakest position, their lives are the most insecure, and they are most easily hit by economic crisis. These are the people who are hit first by the policies being adopted at present by Western states to cut welfare spending or to eliminate or limit readjustment of welfare benefits according to living costs indexes.

Over the past 10 years, more and more people in the West have found themselves unable to maintain even the minimum standard of living. Western states each have their own stipulated minimum living standard, known as the "poverty line." This official "poverty line" is even lower than the criterion put forward by some academics. And even if we use this extremely low official criterion, the number of people living below this "poverty line" in Western countries has risen sharply over the last 10 years. For example, according to an investigative report by the U.S. National Survey Bureau [mei guo guo qing pu cha ju 5019 0448 0948 1906 2528 2686 1444], the number of people living in this kind of poverty rose from 26 million in 1979 to 31.8 million in 1981 and about 34.4 million in 1982. They accounted for 11 percent of the total population in 1979, and 15 percent in 1982, the highest figure for any single year since 1965. Moreover, the situation of U.S. citizens living by borrowing has become serious in recent years. The average per capita private debt rose from \$3,613 in 1975 to \$6,737 in 1981; while the number of bankruptcies occurring through nonpayment of debts rose from 180,000 in 1978 to about 460,000 in 1981, the highest figure since the 1930's.

The deteriorating circumstances of the working classes are manifested not only in falling living standards, but in "the gradual and ceaseless damage to the spirit and the flesh" and "disease and moral degeneration." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 499) According to investigations by Western academics, nervousness caused by unemployment and by insecurity about one's job when it is threatened lead to an increase in heart disease, kidney disorders, and brain hemorrhage. Nervousness also leads to various psychological disorders: doubts, shock, anger, sorrow, and a feeling of uselessness, which in turn lead to excessive drinking, drug taking, baby battering, wife beating, and crime. According to American sociologist Harvey Brenner, each 1 percent increase in national unemployment figures brings an increase of 3.4 percent in psychiatric patients, of 4.1 percent in suicides, of 5.7 percent in murders, and of 4 percent in criminal convictions, while the number of people dying of disorders related to hardship increases by 1.9 percent. In 1982, there were 12.8 million cases of violent crime in the United States, a 21 percent increase over 1977, and a 254 percent increase over 1962.

Prior to the early 1970's, during the period of great prosperity in the capitalist world, some capitalist economists, seeing the relatively great improvement in workers' wages, welfare, and living conditions since the war, declared categorically that postwar capitalist countries had become "welfare states for the whole people," and that the Marxist theory of the growing poverty and hardship of the proletariat was no longer applicable to the actual situation of the postwar Western countries. However, the reality of the deterioration of the living conditions of the working classes in the West has again exposed the falsity and error of this assertion.

First, the increasing poverty of the proletariat is a process, a historical trend. The living conditions of the working class usually change along with the cyclical changes in economic periods. During the postwar period of prosperity in Western countries, because the capitalist class was able to make such huge profits, even though they failed to change or even continued to increase the rate of exploitation, it was still possible for more to be taken out of the national income to increase wages and welfare funds. Therefore, the rise in workers' wages and welfare, and the improvement in their lives during this time signified no more than that "the golden chains which the workers wrought for themselves were already sufficiently long and heavy, and allowed them to relax slightly." (Marx: "Das Kapital," Vol 1, p 678) But as far as the workers were concerned, the increase in wages during the period of prosperity was no more than a compensation for the losses in wages incurred during the periods of crisis. If they did not fight for wage rises during periods of prosperity, then "over his whole working life, the worker would not even achieve his average wage or his own labor value," because in periods of crisis, when the capitalists again tightened the "golden chains" around the workers' necks, his wages would "inevitably fall." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 162) In fact, the welfare cuts and wage reductions in the Western countries at present mean that the things which the working class won for itself during the period of prosperity have already been savagely torn away from them

again. This situation of a change for the worse in the poverty and hardship of the working class is the form in single economic cycles, and also in the long process of economic depression and recovery. To assert that the poverty of the proletariat will never return, on the basis of workers' conditions during a time of prosperity, is incompatible with the facts, and is therefore untenable.

Second, the criterion for assessing the living conditions of workers should change according to the different levels of economic and cultural development and even the atmosphere and customs of a country. Different nations, and the same nation in different periods, means different contents of the means of subsistence contained in a worker's labor power value. Not only is it impossible to use prewar criteria to judge the living conditions of postwar workers, it is just as impossible to use the criteria of the immediate postwar period to judge workers' standards of living in the 1960's.

Furthermore, even in the postwar period of prosperity, due to the fact that the income of the capitalist class increased much more than the wages and welfare of the working class, and that labor in the Western countries continued to be exploited by capital, the situation of a gap between rich and poor not only failed to improve, but continued to deteriorate. Even some Western European scholars admit that in many Western European countries in which postwar wages and benefits increased, "the trend toward imbalance in income and toward poverty increased at a speed unprecedented in the history of government and economic expenditure." (V. George [Wei Qiao Zhi 4850 0829 3112], L. Lawson [Luo Lao Xun 5012 0525 6676] (editors): "Poverty and Inequality in the Common Market Countries," English edition, 1980, p 234)

III

The Western countries' prolonged economic recession and crisis, and the intensification of exploitation by the monopoly capitalist class, have exacerbated class contradictions in these countries, and promoted the struggle by the working class to protect their own economic interests. Over the past 10 years, the working class and other laboring masses in the Western nations have set off a new upsurge of strikes. This new upsurge has surpassed that of the 1960's in terms of the number of strikes, the number of participants, and the number of working days lost, and has distinctive characteristics in its opposition to the offloading of the economic crisis by monopoly capital.

First, the struggle is large and long. Strikes involving 10,000 or more people have become increasingly widespread. Since the late 1970's many countries in Western Europe have witnessed strikes involving 500,000, or a million or more people. Italy has had several national strikes involving over 14 million people. The strike of state-run industry workers in Japan in 1975, the U.S. mineworkers' strike from 1976-1978, the combined strike of industrial workers in Sweden in 1980, and the health workers' strike in Britain in 1982 were all unprecedented in terms of their length of duration and numbers of strikers involved.

Second, a very wide range of social strata has been involved. Because the economic crisis has hit an increasingly wide area, participants in the strikes, apart from industrial workers, have included staff and workers in various service industries, engineers, technicians, civil servants, teachers, health workers, actors, sportsmen, journalists, judges, prison warders, policemen, and so on. Unemployed workers have also conducted demonstrations or "big unemployment marches." Joining with other masses, the unemployed in Western Europe have formed the basic force of a people's movement opposing welfare cuts and increases in military spending.

Third, strikes by workers who have broken through the control of the upper strata of unions have continued to grow. Amid the deepening economic crisis, the upper strata of unions, in order to help the capitalist class get through this "difficult stage," have often reached compromises with the government and with capitalists, carrying out so-called "cooperative action" or "social contracts" with them, accepting their conditions of wage freezes and controls, and sacrificing the interests of the workers; or, in their struggle with the government and capitalists, they have failed to support the reasonable demands of workers for increased wages and improved working conditions. Under these conditions, the masses of workers have frequently broken through the control of union aristocrats, and have carried out strikes without the authorization of the trade unions. The proportion of strikes of this kind is relatively large. In some years, 95 percent of strikes in Britain have been unofficial. Workers' strikes have taken an increasing number of forms. In order to protect their jobs and to fight factory closures and layoffs by capitalists, some strikes among Western European workers have eventually developed into struggles to occupy factories.

Fourth, more and more struggles have been aimed directly at government economic policies. In a period of crisis, wage and welfare cuts, increased unemployment, and price inflation--in short, the reduction of living standards among all strata of people--are all directly or indirectly closely related to government economic policies, including budgetary, employment, and monetary policies; they are all the result of the government's helping the monopoly capital class to shift the economic crisis. At the same time, Western, and especially Western European governments operate large numbers of state enterprises; the governments themselves have become the biggest employers. When they cut wages and social welfare, governments often make an example first of the people they employ directly. For this reason, in their struggles to protect their own economic rights and interests, workers are directing their attacks mainly at government economic policies which sacrifice these interests; government employees have increasingly become an important front army in the struggle of the working classes against the shifting of the economic crisis, which is natural. In the latter part of the 1970's, British workers struggled against the "social contract" between the government and the trade unions aimed at restricting wage increases; in the 1980's, U.S. workers fought against the Reagan administration's economic policy of "stealing from the poor to give to the rich." These, along with a whole series of other struggles by the working classes in the West to oppose social welfare cuts, tax increases, and wage freezes, all represent

the concentrated, concrete manifestation of the struggle of workers in Western nations to oppose the shifting of the economic crisis by their respective governments.

After World War II, in capitalist countries, the massive growth of national monopoly capitalism, and its large-scale intervention in economic activities, brought about great changes in the form in which the cyclical changes of capitalist reproduction were manifested and in the structure of the social life of the working classes, including that of labor remunerations. However, the historical facts of the whole postwar period show that the Marxist theory of capitalist accumulation and the increasing impoverishment of the proletariat remains applicable right up to today.

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AN INSTANCE OF HOW A CENTRAL LEADING COMRADE PROTECTED PUBLIC BOOKS

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[Article by Wang Shuren [3769 2885 0086]]

[Text] Some time in 1962, a central leading comrade borrowed from Beijing Library the book "Wind Entry [0692 7364 7041] Pavilion" which was reprinted in the Gengchen Year of the reign of Emperor Jiaqing from the plate in the collection of Jin Guan Zi Yun Ting [6930 1351 1311 0061 0080]. While he was leafing through the book, he discovered that it was missing page 32 of its 3d volume, so he immediately went to find another edition of the book, and copied out the page's 319 characters carefully and neatly in regular script in small characters. When he copied it, he used the same white Xuan paper as the original book, copying exactly the block-printing form of the original (like the width of the margin, the size of the brackets, the volume number, the page number, the paragraphs, the number of characters, and so on), and on the upper margin of the page wrote in pencil: "This page was copied from the Shanghai Liuyiren edition printed in the 2d Year of the Republic, to supplement the original edition. The second half of the page is missing two characters; I have substituted the character 'one' for the first missing character, the fourth one in line five, while the second missing character still needs to be compared," and so on; then he rebound the whole book, and returned it to Beijing Library. When the comrade in the library received the book, he was deeply moved by how much this central leading comrade cherished and protected public books, the care and meticulousness he had shown in copying out the missing page, and his earnest, responsible attitude to work.

Though this was but a small incident, and happened 20 years ago, it continues to have educational significance today, when we are making great efforts to build socialist spiritual civilization.

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